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## Near East/South Asia Report

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10 February 1984

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ADFAED CEMENT AGREEMENT

Dubayy KHALEEF TIMES in English 2 Dec 83 p 17

[Text]

ABU DHABI Fund for Arab Economic Development (Adfaed) has concluded an agreement with a prominent Omani company for cement production.

Adfaed will own 12.5 per cent of the total capital. The agreement signed between Mr Nasser Al Nuwais, managing director of Adfaed, and Mr Ahmed Abdulla Mahfooz, of the Omani company, is expected to pave the way for more pan Gulf investments.

According to the agreement, the Omani cement producing company will get more than 10 million dirhams in soft loan for increasing its output to meet the rising requirement in the region.

Another agreement, signed between the representatives of Adfaed and the Omani company accounts for the participation of the Abu Dhabi fund in the capital of the Omani concern.

In the past, Omani companies operating in the public and the private sector have received soft loans from the Abu Dhabi government. The total amount of aid provided by the Abu Dhabi government in the current year exceeds eight billion dirhams. This is almost a third of its total annual budget, which stands at about 24 billion dirhams. Aid has been channelled both through Adfaed and also directly through government sources.

CSO: 4400/130

CULTURAL, SOCIAL ACTIVITIES OF ARARAT ORGANIZATION CITED

Tehran ALIK in Armenian 21 Dec 83 p 5

[Interview with Henry Kocharian, president of the Armenian Athletic Ararat Organization; date and place not specified]

[Text] Henry Kocharian, the president of the Central Administration of the Armenian Athletic Ararat Organization, was interviewed by a correspondent of the Los Angeles daily, ASBAREZ, during his recent visit to Los Angeles. The interview was published in the 17 November edition of ASBAREZ and is reproduced below:

Question: Ararat is the Iranian-Armenian community's largest athletic and cultural organization. What is the structure of the organization and how many branches does it have?

Answer: Ararat's main branch operates from Tehran. It also has branches in Tabriz, Urumiyah and Gerdabad.

The organization is run by a nine-man Central Administration.

The organization's Tehran branch has four associations while the other three branches operate as single associations.

Question: Could you give us some more detailed information about the association structure of the branches.

Answer: The Tehran branch has an Elders' Association, an Arts Association, an Athletic Association and a Boy Scouts' Association. Each association has its own administration which supervises the operation of its subdivisions.

The branches in Tabriz, Urumiyah and Gerdabad, as separate single associations, have each their own administrations which supervise the activities of their arts, elders' and athletic subdivisions. The Tabriz branch also has a body of boy scouts.

Question: What are the programs implemented by each association of the Tehran branch?

Answer: Elderly national workers are gathered around the Elders' Association and play an active role in the various activities of that association. In

addition to its administration, this association also has a publishing body which prints books. They also have committees which contribute to the activities of the organization.

The Arts Association is composed of the theatrical, musical, literary, audiovisual and children's subdivisions.

The Athletic Association is composed of the basketball, volleyball, soccer, track and field, table tennis, karate, weightlifting and mountain hiking subdivisions.

Each subdivision of the arts and athletic associations has its own executive administration or committee elected by its members.

The Boy Scouts' Association is administered by a hierarchical body elected by the scouts.

These four associations have a total of nearly 1,500 male and female members.

Question: Is Ararat subject to any harassment or restrictions? Does it have extensive freedom of action?

Answer: I can state without reservations that all the athletic and cultural subdivisions of Ararat have extensive freedom in their activities. The program and bylaws of the organization are implemented to the letter.

Intense efforts are being made to encourage the new generation to participate in our activities. Indeed, a great amount of enthusiasm is prevalent in the organization. All activities are organized and carried on with spirited and eager participation.

Question: What activities are being organized?

Answer: Each association has its own annual activities.

The biggest activity can be considered to be the all-Armenian athletic games which are held every September. Around 40 Armenian associations and groups take part in these games. Of the nearly 2,200 individuals who take part, 400 come from various provinces such as New Jolfa, Kermanshah, Masshad, Tabriz, Urumiyah, Shiraz, Gorgan, Rasht, Enzeli and Ahvaz.

Question: What is the level of athletic standards?

Answer: Ararat's soccer team is competitive in all of Iran and is in a very good position. By local standards, we are in a good position in other athletic forms as well and we often hold matches with Iranian teams.

Question: What other Armenian athletic organizations operate in your region?

Answer: There are four: Sipan, Charmahal, Nairi and the General Union of Armenian University Students. All these organizations share our views and pursue the same goals.

Question: The Ararat Athletic Center in Tehran is one the most outstanding achievements of the Iranian-Armenian community. What is its current condition?

Answer: It is in very good condition. It has its own administrative body which is appointed by Ararat's central administration and which supervises all the facilities of the center such as the swimming pool, the tennis courts and, most importantly, summer programs for children.

The boy scouts carry on their camping activities on the grounds of the Ararat Athletic Center. Their biggest affair is the pledge ceremony which takes place every October.

Question: What can you tell us about cultural activities?

Answer: The most major activity in that area is the Cultural Week in October when various recitals and performances are presented.

Among annual cultural activities I must also mention the choir performances. We have three choirs: a classical, a folklore and a children's choir. Every year we also witness two or three plays, poetry evenings and other literary affairs.

Question: Does Ararat participate in national and public activities and efforts dedicated to the pursuit of the Armenian Cause?

Answer: First let me state that we have a program to commemorate national and public anniversaries which we implement regularly and punctually. In general, we participate in all national, public and commemorative activities.

Our most notable work, which is considered an obligation, is carried on with respect to the pursuit of the Armenian Cause.

A monthly communique is published in the Tehran daily, ALIK, outlining Ararat's past and future work and extensively describing all our activities.

9588

CSU: 4605/35

NEW WAFD LEADER DISCUSSES POLITICAL POLICIES, PHILOSOPHIES, STRATEGIES

Cairo AKHIR SA'AH in Arabic No 2568, 11 Jan 84 pp 10-13

[Interview with Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din, chairman of New Wafd Party, by Muhammad 'Abd-al-Hamid and Usamah 'Ajjaj: "With the Return of the Wafd, a Lively Discussion with Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din"]

[Text] The meeting was in the second floor of Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din's mansion, in the broad, expansive living room which witnessed the Wafd Party's days of glory 30 years ago. In spite of that, you feel a melancholy pervading your being if you look at everything carefully. By gazing carefully, you can feel that the palace, the place, and even the inhabitants have been exposed to extraordinary events: the paintings are faded, the walls have eroded, the furniture is delapidated, dust still permeates its folds, and the colors of the precious rugs have gone pale. Everything is old; you feel early old age around you, as if this was a portrait, by fate, of the old Wafd and its ruins.

In spite of that, if you reflect over the conversation of the owner of the mansion, Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din, who is over 70, you can smell the aroma of something new. From his optimistic smile, you hear evidence and indications of the awakening and revival of the New Wafd. At that moment, you can forget the old picture and its memories.

Life is coming back to the old place, now that the second floor has become the New Wafd Party's temporary headquarters for the meetings which start in the morning and end late at night, setting out the plan by which it will enter into, and engage in, the coming People's Assembly election campaign, and determining and discussing the membership applications that are raining down on the New Wafd.

The uninterrupted conversation with Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din, covering a period of 3 hours, was characterized by objectivity. The statements by the owner of the mansion expressed a beginning for an old party with new ideas and a plan of action which was in keeping with the time and the arena of political action.

The place was indeed old, but the person who was speaking with us and describing the past and the hopes for the future to us made us forget the past around us, which had become eroded, as we listened closely to him and talked with him most openly and excitedly.

The natural entree into conversation with Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din, leader of the New Wafd, was from a basic starting point, the absence of the Wafd from the political stage in Egypt over a period of 30 years, following the dissolution of the old parties and the change in the political and social map following the 23 July 1952 revolution, and the political, intellectual and social changes that have occurred in the Egyptian situation, as embodied in the gains of workers and peasants and so forth.

The Wafd's old leading figures, headed by Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din, have witnessed these changes and sometimes felt them, and sometimes the changes have raged around them. They have been brought to trial on the charge of corrupting political life before the revolution, and came to have scores with 'Abd-al-Nasir's era. They then returned to the stage under the name of the New Wafd with the return of the multi-party system in al-Sadat's era; the truce did not last a long time, a clash occurred, and the party's activity was suspended in 1978.

Therefore, the notion arises among many people, especially in the young generations which were born after the July 1952 revolution and did not experience the Wafd after the revolution, that the Wafd's return, with the old figures, might be linked to the settling of scores with the revolution, its accomplishments, and its years and with the era of 'Abd-al-Nasir and al-Sadat. Thus the direct question was asked:

"What does the return of the New Wafd to the political stage 90 days before the People's Assembly elections mean? Is it connected to the settlement of old scores, or has the New Wafd closed the files on the past and opened a new page in political action?"

Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din, exhaling smoke from his cigar, said,

"I can assert that it is not in any way part of our intentions or our political views to waste our time settling scores. In fact, we have been greatly abused, and the Wafd and its leaders and colleagues have been greatly abused, but it is not in any way part of our intention to look back and settle old scores. I feel that many of our scores have been settled in the three speeches I have given, the first at the Lawyers' Union in August 1977, then the al-Jumruk speech in January 1978, and the speech at the al-Sa'diyah school, when I replied to all the facts or matters that had been levelled at the Wafd and the leaders of the Wafd in the past and recently. I even spoke at length about the 1919 revolution, because it has been described as an unsuccessful revolution which did not realize its goals, and from which Egypt did not derive any benefit.

"It was natural, as I said in the Lawyers' Union speech, that I should seize the opportunity to reply in the absence of Sa'd Zaghlul and Mustafa al-Nahas, as they are in their graves and cannot make their defense concerning

the evils or charges attributed to them. I believe that the question has ended at this point, and I hope that I will absolutely not be compelled to return to these subjects, because in reality I see no use in wasting political effort in discussing or stirring up questions which ended and are now up to history to judge."

After a moment, Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din then went on,

"However, I have noticed recently some first signs which I am sorry about and sorry over. I mean the statements made by Dr Fu'ad Muhyi-al-Din in a recent speech about the parties of pashas and feudalists, although in my latest speech at al-Sa'diyah I was careful to avoid this tone of political dialogue, was fair to the government, and stated what was in its favor and disfavor. A lengthy political conversation took place recently between me and our brother Hasan Abu Basha, the minister of the interior, and it was constructive and objective."

AKHIR SA'AH: What issues were raised at this meeting between you and Hasan Abu Basha, the minister of the interior? Did the conversation lead to a mutual understanding over them?

Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din said,

"It was a long conversation which took place in an atmosphere of total affection and mutual understanding. Each party expressed his viewpoint on the matters to which the conversation addressed itself most truthfully and clearly, according to his belief and thinking. When the conversation began we were friends who understood one another, and when it ended we were still friends."

It appears that the point of the tone of political dialogue in the future concerns the Wafd and Siraj-al-Din greatly, because he soon went on to speak about this point specifically, wondering:

"Why shouldn't our political discourse be like that all over the world, objective? I hope, with the most sincere desire, to adhere to the style of proper political discourse, proper in expression and pure in intention, which has no goal except the public interest."

He then said,

"We are not the professional advocates of a policy nor do we want to govern. We are active in politics and are sacrificing everything we own, and the most precious things we own, which is our health, for politics' sake and for the sake of Egypt. There is no need to go beyond the recognized bounds. Dr Fu'ad Muhyi-al-Din can criticize the pre-revolutionary parties, but in a political manner. I say that we have absolutely no intention of speaking further on these matters, which are finished with, and we must not waste our time on that. The country has no interest in their being raised. In general, we must look forward, not back. It would become a good thing if we were to devote our time to looking forward."

AKHIR SA'AH: Does that mean closing the old files and opening a new page on political action as far as the New Wafd goes?

Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din: Of course that is the general principle. There is however nothing to prevent me, in the opposition, if there is something that happened in the past, whose effects have endured, and which I believe are harmful, there is nothing to prevent me from talking about it, talking about it in the context of something that exists and is in effect. However, and this is the language of discourse, I should not talk about things that happened 30 years ago and are now totally over with. I hope that what the parties all follow, and the government also, I hope that the National Party this year, so that no other party will revert to language that I do not like, the language of political discourse whose expressions are not proper and are far removed from purity of intention.

AKHIR SA'AH: That might be a reason for statements being circulated to the effect that some of the party's supporters, following the issuance of the recent ruling, went about shouting slogans and uttering phrases that are connected to old scores.

Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din: I attended two sessions of the latest case. I did not hear any slogans of the kind. It is true that I did not attend the last session, in which the ruling was issued, but I learned about everything that went on in it. Some members recorded it, since it was a historic ruling. I heard the slogans that were circulated. They did not at all go beyond the affirmation of democracy and a fair judiciary, and affirmations of Egypt. None of the slogans were related to that type we are talking about, especially since party commitment is something that has been rigorously imposed, and any member, whatever his status might be, who violates this commitment will be writing up the concomitant circumstances of a ruling against himself. I myself cannot violate commitment to the party's stipulated conduct or plan; if I do, they will have to look for another chairman. The Wafdists all know my opinion on this case, and we have absolutely no interests, and Egypt has no interests, in our raising old scores or attacking any party in Egypt. We are not attacking any body that is involved in political activity.

I told our Wafdist brothers who write in the newspapers sometimes "I would not like to read any attack by you against anyone. Write about democracy, about public freedoms, and about the constitution." Nonetheless before anyone ventures to publish an article, I must read it. Reviewing it is not a violation of democracy or public freedoms; rather, the purpose is to ensure that the article does not contain any attacks in any case.

AKHIR SA'AH: In the conversation between you and Hasan Abu Basha, the minister of the interior, did you obtain specific guarantees on the neutrality and freedom of the coming elections?

Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din: Actually, this conversation did not address itself to elections in particular. Mention of them might have appeared in the course of the conversation, since the government's position on the Wafd is not a hostile one, and the government has not opposed the establishment of the Wafd. Rather, the position is just a legal one.

AKHIR SA'AH: Dr Fu'ad Muhyi-al-Din, the prime minister, asserted this to us in his latest conversation.

Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din: President Mubarak himself has stated it. He has asserted that no previous decision against the Wafd exists nor did the political leadership oppose its establishment. I have confidence, and the source of my confidence is the statements by President Mubarak, and I say this in every meeting because I have great confidence in this man and am confident that he is truthful with himself and with people. I observed this impression at the first meeting after our emergence from the detention center in Turah. He was frank and clear. We all sensed his truthfulness. He stated and said that he wanted free elections, as did the minister of the interior, in whom I also have confidence, and who I believe is truthful and will observe neutrality. What happened in Alexandria gives rise to confidence. I was there and I heard things which would underline this tendency from one of the officers with whom I have a family connection. He told me, "There are emphatic instructions that there is to be no interference on behalf of any candidate and that all candidates are to be treated equally."

Siraj-al-Din then added:

"It would have been possible to deface a thousand ballots, as happened before, and get 90 percent of the vote, rather than 8 or 10 percent. In addition, the small number of voters who attended the elections is indicative of noninterference. These are all signs which indicate that the elections will take place with total neutrality."

Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din then said,

"I demand, indeed I hope, that the phenomenon of the appearance of governors at National Party candidates' meetings will not happen again. Yes, they do belong to the party, but the fact that they are in the top position of authority in the governorates means that this presence will have an influence on their subordinates in the form of the village heads, paramount elders and so forth."

AKHIR SA'AH: Are there specific facts which support your view regarding the status of governors and administrators, as far as the impartiality of elections goes?

Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din said,

"I learned that one district official was also the brother of a member of the People's Assembly. In Bani Suwayf, specifically, there are three People's Assembly members whose brothers occupy the position of official in the districts to which their own brothers belong. How can we have confidence in this official's impartiality in the elections?

"I also learned that the three people took part in the preceding elections while they were in their regular positions. Even when they are promoted they stay in their regular positions.

"They reached the level of village chiefs and still are in the district, and have not been moved about by any transfer processes. This is what I have learned about Bani Suwayf. This situation might be found in other districts. What is required is that this situation be corrected so that there will be impartiality, because impartiality produces a feeling on the part of the voter that the government has no interests in supporting one group and opposing another one."

He continued his statement,

"Some people might raise the point that governors in America are also members of the ruling party, but they forget that governors in America are elected directly, as is the president, while in Egypt governors are appointed. If they want to belong to a party, why don't they obtain their positions by election? I would rather the governors were removed from politics, because their powers are broad, amounting to those of the prime minister, in their supervision of agriculture, supplies, housing, and all public services."

AKHIR SA'AH: What is your opinion on the point other opposition groups have been raising, to the effect that there must be a transition cabinet to carry out the elections?

Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din: No party that participates in the elections can fail to accept this, especially since it is a major guarantee, because, as I have said, the administrative system is influenced by the cabinet that is in being, not just now but at all times. Neutral cabinets are not a novelty.

From 1924 to 1952, 12 elections took place. Half of them were carried out by neutral cabinets and in those the Wafd won an absolute majority. The remaining elections, which were six in number, were carried out by party cabinets, and these elections did not result in the expression of the people's real opinions. Rather, I can say that a neutral cabinet is not sufficient for neutrality in the elections. In the last election held before the revolution, in January 1950, a neutral cabinet carried them out, under the premiership of the late Husayn Sirri, and we as the Wafd suffered severely from these elections. Husayn Sirri was anxious to create a balance among the parties and at the same time was anxious that the Wafd Party not obtain an absolute majority, but just a plurality of no more than 40 percent along with the other parties. His hope was for a coalition cabinet that he would head. In a private meeting with him, I told him, "Husayn Pasha, in Arabic, you don't have any interests in having history remember and record that you trumped up the elections in order to stay in power, so that you could be at the head of a future coalition cabinet. We will not accept that. Therefore you have no interests in committing fraud." In spite of that, we obtained a majority, and the talk about balance was a failure. In my opinion, there is something stronger than a neutral cabinet for holding elections.

AKHIR SA'AH: What, in your opinion, is a stronger guarantee of elections than a neutral cabinet?

Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din said,

"I demand that the judiciary supervise the elections. This, in my opinion, is an important matter. Indeed, I consider that that has a high degree of importance. It might be said, once an adequate number of members of the judiciary are provided to chair the general and branch committees, it will be possible to remedy this deficiency by carrying out elections over a period of 2 days, or, if the situation requires, 3 days. There is a precedent which occurred in 1928. The late Muhammad Pasha Mahmud held elections over the space of 2 days, 1 day in Lower Egypt and another in Upper Egypt. He also sought the aid of the forces of the army, along with the police, to maintain order."

AKHIR SA'AH: The Wafd Party, through you, declared that it would enter the election campaign in all districts. Do you have an adequate number of candidates?

Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din said,

"The problem with us is that what we now have is more than the number needed. By looking for example at any election district in which there are 10 candidates, half of whom will be workers and peasants and the other half from other groups, we find that we have twice that number, and they are all qualified. Our current problem is to choose, although I do not consider that really to be a problem, because all the members of the Wafd are accustomed to giving, and not to taking. Our problem has not reached the point where people get angry, leave the Wafd and join another party in the event they are not chosen."

Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din continued his statement:

"Yesterday, we had a delegation from the city of Port Said. I was surprised to see a National Democratic Party deputy from al-Manakh stand up and declare that he was joining the Wafd. By all this, I mean that we have adequate personnel to run as candidates in all electoral districts. In spite of that, we still get applications from persons asking to join the party. However, there is a point I would like to concentrate on. If the person applying to join comes in just because he wants to run as a candidate, here I might tell him, thanks, and I might consider that he is totally fit to run as a candidate, but in all cases the decision is with the higher board, which is made up of 35 members."

AKHIR SA'AH: You are concentrating your statement on the large number of applications to join the Wafd Party, bearing in mind that it was absent from the political stage for close to 30 years. Is it possible to explain this phenomenon?

Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din said,

"I consider that normal. The Wafd has a history of persevering against the British and the palace, and of being on the side of freedoms and protection of the constitution. The Wafdists still hold these positions. Even the young people who have not read and learned anything about the Wafd or al-Nahhas have heard of its history from their mother, their father or from relatives,

through pictures of Sa'd Zaghlul or Mustafa al-Nahhas hanging on the wall. During my visit in the evening you will find large numbers of young people, totalling more than about 300 citizens. I recall in one of his speeches in the main chamber, the late President Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir said, and I was listening to the speech, 'We are teaching the young people in the schools in a specific way, and they go home and hear different things.'"

Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din gave another dimension of the phenomenon, from his viewpoint, and said,

"That is true, and it can be seen in every Wafdist home. Every Wafdist would talk about the Wafd inside his own home. In addition, I noticed in recent years great concern on the part of young Egyptians to read political books and articles, in addition to the young people's choice of the New Wafd movement.

"There are other factors, which are not just peculiar to Egypt but are worldwide, in every democratic country, such as finding solutions to the problems citizens are suffering from, and also a desire for change. This all really and truly indicates the intense receptivity to joining the Wafd."

Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din smiled as he said,

"Some time ago an American journalist was here, and he asked me the same question, in his perplexity over failing to explain the young people's receptivity to the Wafd, in spite of its lack of modernity. At that moment my young grandson, who is 3, came in. I told him, 'Long live what, Sharif?' He said, very quickly, 'Long live the Wafd!' The American told me, 'I have heard the answer to my question.' I told him, 'What you heard here you can hear in every Wafdist home.'"

AKHIR SA'AH: Many people, especially young people, who heard your latest speech at the al-Sa'diyah School, did not find themselves reflected in your statement, which went on for more than 2 hours. You spoke about the Wafd more than you spoke about the problems and issues that have been raised on the stage!

Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din said,

"That observation is correct. The meeting was not political or social but rather a commemoration of Sa'd Zaghlul and Mustafa al-Nahhas. It was necessary to present their positions against the British and the palace and on behalf of the general interests of the people. However, if the meeting is political, you will find me, just as you will find others beside me, talking about Sa'd Zaghlul and Mustafa al-Nahhas for 5 minutes and the rest of the time about politics and programs for the future."

AKHIR SA'AH: Does the leadership of the Wafd Party realize the magnitude and depth of the many changes and developments that have occurred in Egyptian society in the last 30 years, during which the party was away from the stage of political action? Is that awareness reflected in the party's program?

Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din said,

"There is no doubt that a great change has occurred in the political climate. In addition, the same change has occurred in the language of discourse. It is not possible for me to address the Egyptian people or the citizen in the language of 1932 or 1943. Appearances all indicate that the political climate is different, that political notions are different, and that the conditions of society are different. In 1978 we set out the New Wafd's program. It was presented to the committee on the establishment of parties, in accordance with the law on parties. There was a stipulation that the program be distinctive, in the sense that each party's program be different from the others, which was not an easy point. In addition, there was a stipulation that 20 members of the People's Assembly establish the party along with you. By God's grace, a committee found something distinctive in our program. I can say that our program addresses itself to all the questions a person could think about. The program contained the articles of the constitution that we demanded be amended bearing on public freedoms, democracy and human rights. Another part dealt with all Arab, foreign and domestic political issues, in the form of housing, agriculture and the economy. We also addressed ourselves to women, young people, and all aspects of life in Egypt."

Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din then added:

"In spite of all that, this program will now be reviewed. While I say that changes have occurred between 1952 and 1978, they have however also occurred, in perhaps different form, between 1978 and 1984. These changes occurred in political areas, whether Arab, international, economic or otherwise, in the domestic context. The amendments will be made by specialists who belong to the party, and there is no doubt that it will require great effort. This is part of our present concern, in addition to other urgent matters, such as preparing for the elections, issuing a newspaper, and providing headquarters for the party. From now until next June or July, the public will need to know our opinions, our ideas and our future policy so that there will be a compact and a bond between the party and the public, and so that its choice will be made out of knowledge and awareness, and we will truly be committed to the promises we present, whether the party or the opposition is in power."

AKHIR SA'AH: The Wafd is returning to the stage, and only 90 days remain till the next election campaign. That means that the opportunity is limited and there is not enough time to organize ranks and mobilize partisans. Why did the Wafd enter this election campaign, in all districts? Can it be sure of the results?

Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din said,

"The Wafd was not established for one election campaign, or to win one round; rather, we are working, and will work, for the future. Here each party exerts all its effort in the quest to govern, and for executive power, on condition, however, that that take place legitimately, through the legitimate route."

AKHIR SA'AH: What is the Wafd's position on former ministers who come forward to join it, out of the ambition to run as candidates and to acquire gains through the new party in the elections?

Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din said,

"I have not yet run into such persons seeking personal gain. I have not spoken or said that these people are joining the Wafd for the sake of running as candidates or out of ambition for positions. Rather, there is the condition that the Wafd accept people who are fit and that the Wafd do the nominating. However, if a person who joins the Wafd demands that he has done so in order to be nominated for elections, at that point we will tell him, 'We are sorry, there is no place for you in the Wafd!'"

AKHIR SA'AH: What is the Wafd's position on the opposition style of the other parties present on the stage, which sometimes tend to be provocative and non-objective and resort to twisting the facts, in brief, opposition for the sake of opposition, and not for the public benefit, which results in many excesses and departures from the bounds of constructive political dialogue?

Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din said,

"I cannot say that the opposition is not staying within these bounds now. I was misunderstood after the meeting with Minister Hasan Abu Basha; my position is not one of making evaluations, especially since the opposition might adhere to this, or more. However, I do believe that what I said is a rule that we must adhere to, any opposition that respects itself.

"In response to the question that the Wafd was not represented in the general committee for freedoms, or the defense of democracy, I can say that what happened was that two members of the Lawyers' Union, most of whom are Wafdists, attended one of these meetings and in the minutes of the session stated that they had attended in their capacity as board members of the Lawyers' Union, in a personal capacity. We were not in our capacity as members of the Wafd Party. However, unfortunately, one opposition paper published the news that so-and-so and so-and-so had attended for the Wafd, and it published the names. The publication did not correspond to reality. They had declared, in the official minutes, that they represented not the Wafd but themselves."

AKHIR SA'AH: As was the case in the Muharram Bey elections in Alexandria?

Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din:

"Exactly. A Wafdist from the workers' group came forth and declared that he was running for election on the principles of the Wafd. It was clear in his pamphlet that he was a Wafdist. The confusion was reiterated in the district. A distinction was not made between the Wafd candidate and a Wafdist candidate. I cannot tell people 'You are not a Wafdist,' because that is a belief. However, I can tell him, 'You are not a member of the Wafd Party.' I cannot tell someone, 'You are not a Moslem,' but I can tell him, 'You are

not a member of the Moslem Brothers.' Political belief is not granted by decree or removed by decree. Rather, what is granted and removed is membership in the party. This is the case in any organization. When I found that there was a confusion, and a blizzard of telephone calls were made, and everyone had asked if the Wafd had nominated anyone in the Muharram Bey district, since we were not concerned with this campaign, and if we were at some other time we might enter it as a candidate of the Wafd Party, as happened in the al-Jumruk district in 1978, when we entered with our whole weight, and in addition, the district was no more than 2 or 3 months old, and the council would be dissolved, and we had to save our public for the big campaign, we said, 'Umar,' who was the candidate, 'withdraw the nomination because there is a decree on that from the higher committee.' He said, 'I am committed,' and declared his withdrawal."

AKHIR SA'AH: What is the Wafd's foreign policy outlook, especially as regards Egypt's position between the two great powers, and the special relationship between Egypt and America? This is because one or another of the existing opposition parties exploits this point for the sake of auctioneering from time to time.

Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din said,

"This issue is very clear in the special party program. The Wafd has had a fixed policy, even before 1952, and it is the same as its present one. That is that Egypt should pursue a balanced policy with the two blocs, a neutral policy."

Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din said, exhaling smoke from his famous cigar,

"The Arab situation is as unfortunate, sorrowful and sad as it can be. Israel could not have dreamed of this if it had spent billions of pounds and sacrificed hundreds of thousands of soldiers. It has gotten where it is now because of fragmentation in Arab ranks, and for this there has been absolutely no precedent since the Arab League opened. The Arab countries are fighting one another. The country itself is fighting itself, and its people are fighting one another. We look for the reason but cannot find it. Who is benefitting from the civil war in Lebanon, though it has been going on for 7 years? What group has benefitted from the war? This is unfortunate and sad. Israel is gaining and profiting without spending money, or having a soldier's blood spilled!"

AKHIR SA'AH: It has been observed that the more the story of the return of Egypt to the Arabs, or the return of the Arabs to Egypt, comes up, the more the issue of the Camp David agreement is raised. Some people adopt it as a pretext for making excuses, while others use it as a "hanger" for all the Arabs' errors as a result of their rifts and fragmentation. What is the Wafd's position on Camp David, and what is its view of the results and effects of the agreement, especially since some opposition parties are using it as material for auctioneering?"

Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din: As far as Camp David goes, our view has been clear since 1978. We met here, and with us in the higher board were ranking authorities

in international law and constitutional law. We studied the agreement in a scientific, legal manner before a political study was made, and we set out a number of observations on this agreement. We did not reject it in principle, but we set out observations on it. We made a printed memorandum on it which was distributed among the members of the People's Assembly by some deputies. We had about 15 deputies. It was presented to the assembly and included among its documents. We said that we criticized the agreement for such-and-such a reason and asked that these points be taken into consideration. The assembly formed a committee of members to review the agreement. The strange thing is that the committee set out the same observations we did. In fact it may have added some points to them. Mr Fikri Makram 'Ubayd, the minister of People's Assembly affairs, stood up and thanked the opposition for this memorandum, and promised that it, and the memorandum of the competent committee, would be the object of the government's attention. It was a very nice, patriotic position, a competent minister praising the committee memorandum. Unfortunately, when the treaty was signed, it was drawn up without any corrections based on the observations of the committee, either the opposition memorandum or the memorandum of the People's Assembly, and we met a second time and made a legal memorandum again, which was carefully studied, and distributed it in the assembly.

I say that the talk about Camp David has become redundant and now is in the realm of history, far removed from reality. Israel has violated everything in Camp David. Is its conduct on the West Bank compatible with Camp David, and its stipulations? Is the invasion of Lebanon compatible, or the settlements it is building on the occupied territories? Has it given autonomy to the Palestinians on the occupied territories, especially since the stipulated 5 years have elapsed? After 5 years, they were to have been given the right to determine their own destiny.

AKHIR SA'AH: Let us go back to the Wafd, and talk about the party newspaper. Has the party specified a date for issuing the paper before the coming elections?

Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din said, after thinking briefly:

"The party paper is the most important problem now. We have two points before us, first the issuance of the paper and then the provision of headquarters for the party. Although my home is the present headquarters, it does not meet the purpose. I am concerned that there be a place in which there be a large number of rooms for the administrative, information and technical apparatus, meetings and places for files and folders, as with any party.

"On the first problem, which concerns the newspaper, we are now exerting concentrated efforts to solve these two problems, and we are trying to issue a newspaper in March. It will be a weekly, then a biweekly, and will end up being daily. You know the magnitude of the problem facing the issuance of a paper, in terms of presses, the editorial staff, paper, and financing. However, these difficulties will not divert us from our path."

AKHIR SA'AH: It was said in 1978 that more than a million pounds had been set aside to finance the party paper. What is the degree of truth in that statement?

Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din: They accused us of obtaining financing from some Arab countries. I can assert that the million pounds amounts to a million mil-liemes. In this period, we did not apply ourselves to accumulating money; rather we were involved in the struggle for establishment; especially with the former president, al-Sadat, the struggle took all our time, in terms of defending and responding. Now we are concerned with the issue of financing. We have even formed a special committee, and the early signs appear to be good, because the Wafdists are famous for sacrificing themselves. A few days ago I found a member putting his hands in my pocket. I was amazed, and put my hand in my pocket and found 100 pounds. He went off before I could learn his name. You will not find that in any party. Therefore, we are not concerned about this problem. Every Wafdist gives as much as he can, generously, to the party. As far as the paper goes, if it is weekly, where will I publish it? All the presses are overworked. However, that will certainly be arranged. The position of editor in chief is still open.

AKHIR SA'AH: It is said that Ahmad Abu-al-Fath has been nominated for this post.

Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din: There are many reasons and circumstances bearing on Ahmad Abu-al-Fath, especially health circumstances, that prevent Ahmad Abu-al-Fath from being the editor in chief, although he is one of us and there are no doubts about his loyalty to the Wafd. However, until next March we will issue bulletins, which is the party's right, on condition that they are not for sale and that they are for distribution to the members of the party. The second condition is that they not be regular or periodical -- they are bulletins to provide Wafdists with information about the party and its resolutions. What does not appear in other papers, because their pages do not have room, we will publish in the party bulletin; that is, it will be a means of communication.

AKHIR SA'AH: Is there a party publicity plan for the Wafd among workers, especially since it is well known that the Wafd's broad base was among the peasants before the revolution?

Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din: Of course, without a doubt, especially since this question offers a chance to explain an important aspect. If we think about the Wafd's organizational structure before 1952, we will find a strange phenomenon. We will find that the rich people in the party were an extremely small minority. There were 15 or 16 leaders. Even in the Wafd's parliamentary body we find that the capitalists were a limited minority. The overwhelming majority was from the toiling groups and bodies, workers, peasants, young people, merchants or lawyers. The Wafd, and every party in the world, must put some capitalists in its ranks, because parties depend on contributions and dues.

Since it is not allowed to engage in commerce, the Wafd's dues are 6 pounds per year. Our working members have had the right to attend the general

assembly, aside from the millions of partisans. With 40,000 members, the volume of the dues comes to 300,000 pounds.

In the past, when the Wafd needed a lot of money, I would assemble the parliamentary body of the Wafd, explain the political circumstances to them, and raise the issue of financing without pressure or coercion. In half an hour I would collect 80,000 pounds, in the form of checks, coin or currency which would come the next day. One person would pay 50,000 pounds, another would pay 50 pounds, and this was a force in the Wafd's board, which contained 15 leaders. Some of them were big capitalists, like Mughazi Pasha, al-Wakil Pasha, and Sayyid Bey Bahnas, and there were leaders who had nothing, big lawyers. This is the Wafd, and this is the secret of its strength. When the parties were dissolved in 1953, the Wafd's bank balance, which was handed over to the government, according to the dissolution law, was 104,000 pounds, while the other parties handed over 500 pounds, and some handed over 600.

The Wafd does not need government support, or headquarters either.

AKHIR SA'AH: The Wafd is using the second floor of the Siraj-al-Din mansion as its temporary headquarters. Will you ask the government for headquarters like the other parties, or what?

Fu'ad Siraj al-Din said, as he sipped on a cup of coffee without sugar,

"We can ask for places for party headquarters, since these headquarters are left over from the Socialist Union. This is what other parties have done. However, we will not do this, though I can say that this building belongs to me, is my property, like the Sa'dist Clubhouse. That was taken over, and it is now being occupied by a department or bureau of the Ministry of the Interior. Here the house could be given back to the Wafd Party and the department could be moved to another place. From this starting point, I will present an application in the coming days on this matter, and I hope it will meet receptive ears, because it is a reasonable, just request."

AKHIR SA'AH: You stated previously that your role in the party would be restricted to the founding stage, and that after that it would be up to the Wafd to complete the mission.

[Answer] I am totally convinced of that. Our task now is to help in the establishment of the party, because it is difficult to establish the party without the old Wafdists. I can say that after the establishment of the Wafd, our task will be to bring up a new political generation, because most unfortunately there were no parties in the last 30 years and, as the natural result of the absence of political schools, whose role in the context of the party system was to train and graduate politicians, statesmen and rulers, as I pointed out in the al-Sa'idiyah school speech, the president's task in choosing ministers has now become a difficult one. Before the revolution, it was easy to find more than five figures who were each suited for the cabinet, no matter how meager the party. Each party would have an adequate number of ministers in the event it came to power. Even in the cases of coalition cabinets, the situation did not constitute any problem for the parties.

Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din said,

"This subject prompts me to mention the story of al-Nahhas Pasha, when he wanted to meet the king to appoint 'Abd-al-Majid Pasha 'Abd-al-Haqq minister of state in 1951. The king used to stall on every request al-Nahhas made. We asked al-Nahhas Pasha to make the representation for the first time in his life, if he was concerned about this appointment. I asked him to write down the names of six candidates to this position, provided that the first one be 'Abd-al-Majid 'Abd-al-Haqq, and to put a card with the names on it before the king, in a manner which would cause him to observe the names and present 'Abd-al-Majid's name. At this point he would not protest, because he would find other alternative names. The plan succeeded, and 'Abd-al-Majid was appointed minister of state. Our method in the past was to choose deputies to work as vice chairmen of parliament. This process in itself constituted training for these figures so they would amount to a reserve for any cabinet, after constant refinement. These experiments were a success and yielded a crop of useful, proper figures."

He continued his statement,

"Let me talk once again about my staying for a specific time in the chairmanship of the party. Our current task is to get proper personnel started on the road. During this period, we will act as their guides and mentors. I remember when we were preparing the internal program for the party in 1978, I set out a provision that provoked everyone's amazement. I said that the first term for the chairman of the party should be just 1 year from the date of the establishment of the party, with the condition that he can be re-elected. 'Abd-al-Fattah Hasan was amazed because party chairmen did not have a specific term, as long as they were able to work and as long as they were the object of trust. I said, 'Is there anything to prevent me from being re-elected?' Dr Mustafa Khalil also raised this issue with me, but I held to my position, and it was actually realized. The young people are the pillars of every party that wants to last."

AKHIR SA'AH: The Wafd was distinguished by the presence of a number of political wings, the most prominent of which was the "Wafdist vanguard." What is the Wafdist Vanguard's position on the new party?"

Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din said,

"I can assure you that there was nothing in the history of the Wafd called the 'Wafdist Vanguard.' I was secretary general of the party, and there were no such titles among its staff. Some members of the student executive committee gave themselves this title. There was a magazine called RABITAT AL-SHABAB from whose owner they obtained a permit. To tell the truth, they were committed party members as Wafdist students. They were with us every day in the al-Sa'di Club and al-Nahhas' home, and at commemorations and conferences. I personally nominated their chief, Mustafa Musa, member of the Chamber of Deputies in 1950. Even though he had a bachelor's degree in engineering, he won, with the aid of the students, against Sayyid Jalal. We had nothing against young people being active under the name of the Wafdist Vanguard or the Wafdist Youth, but they did not have an independent view or

an independent identity. This issue ceased to be important after 1953. However, it reappeared and was brought back into being by 'Abd-al-Muhsin Hammudah, who was not in the Wafd Party and did not submit an application to join the party in 1978, and has not done so yet. In 1978 a warning was sent, by courier, to the minister of the interior at that time and also the chairman of the Committee on Parties and the chairman of the People's Assembly warning them not to give the name of the Wafdist Vanguard to any party, since that name was to be reserved for a party, with its chairmanship. Where is its party? Where is its activity? I say that there is no organization called the Wafdist Vanguard. Even all the members who were with him on the students' committee joined the Wafd Party."

AKHIR SA'AH: There are people who say that the leaders of the Wafd Party stole the commemoration of Sa'd Zaghlul and Mustafa al-Nahas from the Wafdist Vanguard.

Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din said:

"That is not true. It is well known that the Lawyers' Union has been holding this commemoration. It started in 1976, 'Abd-al-Fattah Hasan, Ibrahim Faraj and Muhammad Salah-al-Din spoke at it, and we are still holding it, every year. I spoke at the 1977 commemoration. We contented ourselves with this, because political circumstances did not allow more than this, until the circumstances changed and we entered into a democratic climate that I cannot deny, in addition to the presence of freedom of opinions and assembly, and we asked to hold it. However, the minister of the interior, al-Nabawi Isma'il, asked that it be in a closed place, and we said that it was not a mourning observance, or the commemoration of the 40th day after a funeral, and that it had to be given the dignity it deserved. Agreement was reached that it should be held at the 'Umar Makram Mosque. There we found extreme difficulties, such as the fact that loudspeakers had not been set up and pictures of al-Nahas and Sa'd Zaghlul had not been put up. This year, I myself requested that it be held, and, after negotiations with [the Ministry of] the Interior, it agreed that it could be held in the al-Sa'idiyah school. It was a successful meeting, and the policemen were responsive. This was conveyed to the minister of the interior and the governor of Giza. So what have we stolen from 'Abd-al-Muhsin Hammudah?"

AKHIR SA'AH: In the context of the whole world's tendency toward specialization, does the Wafd have the wherewithal to provide ministers who are specialized in all technical areas, such as economics, for instance, and depart from the pattern of the political minister who is just committed in party terms, and who is chosen just because he is a leader of the party?

Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din said,

"Certainly, like all political parties, it is necessary that there be specialized technical personnel in its committees, which can formulate the party's viewpoint on all the issues raised, in the realm of economics, finance or housing. However, I have a point of view on this issue, based on my pursuit of politics. By all standards, a party minister is better than a technical minister. If a person can combine technical specialization with

party leadership, that is far better. There are examples that confirm what I say. If a doctor is appointed minister of health, he will consider that he is the greatest of all people to talk about and understand all health problems. That opinion will keep him from listening to advisory opinions and counsel, whereas the minister who is not specialized will always resort to the reports and opinions of his advisors. For example, Murqus Pasha Hanna, a lawyer, assumed the Ministry of Works for a period. Everyone knows that that was one of the most prosperous eras of the Ministry of Works. A decree was issued appointing a technical advisor to the minister and a bureau chief for technical affairs from competent engineering personnel in the ministry, and each body would send its reports out in a specific area, and set out all solutions and alternatives in its report, which was presented to the minister's technical advisor, who would study the issue thoroughly, and set forth the decisions that the minister could take regarding it, then present the report to the chief of the technical bureau so that he in turn could express his opinion, so that the picture would be clear in complete form before the minister, who would take the decision that was in keeping with the interests of the masses."

Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din went on,

"In my opinion, the minister's is a political position. Everyday routine work is carried out by a group of deputy ministers and advisors to the minister. This method must be followed in our selection of ministers."

AKHIR SA'AH: There is much that has given political activity a bad odor in Egypt, especially the calumny in the language of political discourse between the parties and the opposition. How do you view the function and the style of the opposition's practices?

Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din said:

"I cannot evaluate the style and form of action in the current opposition, but if we look at the need to have rules for political discourse, we can gain a thorough understanding of them by glancing at the parliaments before 1952, where criticism of the government took place in regular, carefully studied form in the Chamber of Deputies. An opposition member would describe the reasons for his objection to the law or decree that was presented in a scholarly, carefully studied manner. However, after the session ended, with the approval of the government's view or the success of the opposition, they were all full friends.

"I can assert that part of the function of the opposition is to help the regime, because it participates in a specific manner in taking decisions. It often happened, before the revolution, that a minister would come to me and present me the draft of a decree or law he was going to present to the chamber, and would ask an opinion on it as someone responsible for the opposition. I can assert that after it was studied in a scholarly manner, at the highest level, the minister would accept all additions generously, and would declare in the session that he would present a specific decree, and, with agreement with the opposition, added other parts, then would thank the opposition for its help in arriving at a solution to the problem.

"I state frankly, is this method being observed now? More frankly, no. What is happening is that opposition for the most part takes place under the slogan 'opposition for the sake of opposition.'"

AKHIR SA'AH: A final question at the end of the conversation. Would you prefer that everyone call you "Fu'ad Pasha," or "Mr Fu'ad?"

Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din said, smiling,

"The title of pasha disappeared 30 years ago. I prefer the name 'Mr Fu'ad.' I have a long story to tell. When I was in Turah Prison, the method of recreation we detainees used was to have convocations, which we would hold behind the bars. Everyone called me Fu'ad Pasha! I asked everyone to call me Mr Fu'ad, and anyone who called me Fu'ad Pasha I would not answer. One day I declared that I was giving up the title of pasha to Mr Kamal Ahmad, founder of the Nasirist Party, who was in the adjacent cell, and I asked him not to answer anyone unless they told him 'Kamal Pasha.'

"Frankly, we cannot go back. The era of pashas has ended, and will never return."

Members of the Wafd: Muntaz Nassar, 'Awwarah and Former Ministers

Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din, after his lengthy interview with AKHIR SA'AH, said that Muntaz Nassar and Ibrahim 'Awwarah, members of the People's Assembly, and some former ministers, whose names he refused to mention at the present time, until he found out what they thought about having their identities divulged, were some of the political and public figures who had recently joined the Wafd Party.

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SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY CONFERENCE ISSUES RESOLUTIONS

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 27 Dec 83 pp 4-7, 21

[Article by 'Atif Husayn, Ahmad al-Suyufi, Muhammad al-Sa'dani, Maysah Hafiz, Mary Ya'qub and 'Imad Mahjub: "The Second General Conference of the Socialist Labor Party Issues Recommendations"]

[Text] The national character of radio and television services is to be adhered to; procurement of imported movies and dubious, foreign serials is to be stopped; and the Press Authority Law and its executive decree are to be repealed.

Guarantees required for free elections are to be set in the law; laws restricting freedom are to be repealed; Muslim and Christian clergymen are to be called upon to perform their duties; the eight percent condition in the Elections Law is to be abolished; and the state of emergency is to be lifted because holding an election under a state of emergency would be inconsistent.

A freeze on the Camp David Accords is called for in reaction to Israel's repeated violations of the accords; diplomatic relations with Israel are to be broken if it does not withdraw immediately from Lebanon.

President Mubarak's meeting with 'Arafat supported the rights of the Palestinian people and crowned the Labor Party's action and its support for the PLO.

Egypt's special relationship with the United States is to be reconsidered, and normal relations with the Soviet Union are to be restored.

Conditional foreign aid is not to be accepted, and self-reliance and reliance on Arab and Islamic sources are to be taken into consideration.

The second conference of the Socialist Labor Party [SLP] issued its recommendations and resolutions as follows:

First, in the Area of Foreign Policy:

1. Balanced relations between the east and the west are called for. Diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union are to be restored, and care must be exercised in adhering to the requirements of the non-alignment policy. [That includes] establishing balanced relations with the east and west, and that requires the restoration of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union while at the same time calling upon the Soviet Union to stop [its] aggression against Afghanistan.
2. Our special relations with the United States must be reconsidered in light of the United States' strategic agreement with Israel. The United States' existing position, which is based on a shameless alignment with Israel, makes it incumbent upon Egypt that it reconsider its special relationship with the United States so that no harm can come to its national security. The United States supports Israel with all its resources and disregards the interests and the rights of Arab countries, and that was quite evident in the so-called Strategic Cooperation Agreement between the United States and Israel. Egypt should refrain from giving the United States any facilities, and most importantly, any military bases for U.S. forces. Egypt should not allow U.S. forces to conduct joint exercises on our territory, nor should it enable the United States to obtain information or data under the guise of scientific research or under any other pretext.
3. The United States must withdraw from the multi-national forces in Sinai and in Lebanon.

This U.S.-Israeli alliance makes it necessary for U.S. forces to be withdrawn from the multi-national forces that are stationed in Sinai or those that can be found in Lebanon to preserve the peace. This is because U.S. forces, which are completely aligned with Israel, have lost their neutrality. Those U.S. forces are to be replaced by UN forces after the groundwork is laid to prepare the Soviet Union to agree that a UN force be formed. This would be done after diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union are restored. [This is necessary] particularly since U.S. forces have repeatedly attacked Syrian and Druze positions in Lebanon and have thus become involved in the fighting.

4. A policy that expresses that of the non-aligned countries and Third World countries is to be pursued in the Security Council.

The fact that Egypt became a member of the UN Security Council makes it incumbent upon it as an Arab, non-aligned country that is affiliated with the Third World to pursue a policy that embodies these relations when it exercises [the functions of] its membership. Egypt has to support liberation movements and the rights of people to determine their destiny. Egypt is to condemn the foreign invasion of any country.

5. Conditional foreign aid is not to be accepted. Self-reliance is to be considered first, and then Arab and Islamic sources [second]. Conditional foreign aid is not to be accepted because this aid affects [our ability to exercise] our free will in making decisions. That requires three conditions:

A. Projects that are not immediately needed or urgently important are not to be expanded, [particularly] if foreign financing is required for them. We would then not have to apply for loans and aid to finance them.

B. Rigid rules are to be laid down to set public spending on the right course in a serious and well-considered manner so that the country's resources can provide those needs to meet which Egypt turns to foreign countries.

C. Arab sources [of aid], such as Arab development funds and Arab and Islamic banks are to replace those sources [of aid] that are controlled by countries which set conditions on loans and investments. This is particularly the case since surplus Arab oil returns are deposited in American banks and Arab oil governments are the ones that supply the international financial organizations, such as the IMF and the IBRD, with the capital they offer as aid to those countries that turn to them for that aid.

#### Second, in the Area of Arab Questions

6. It is necessary for the unity of the Arab rank to be restored and for the way for that to be paved by popular meetings.

5. [sic] The dangers surrounding the Arab region are such that they may lead to a clash between the two superpowers. That clash may turn Arab territory into the scene of a nuclear war. This requires that the unity of the Arab rank be restored, and it requires that national popular forces [join forces with each other] by cooperating with all the honest forces in the Arab world so that Egypt can take its place in the Arab rank and return with its resources, capabilities and influence to steer [the course of] the Arab ship in the stormy seas [that lie ahead]. Egypt is to call for a pan-Arab national conference of all Arab forces, and that conference would diagnose existing conditions and prescribe the remedy for them honestly, freely and sincerely.

6. The fact that the fighter, Yasir 'Arafat was received in Egypt is to be commended.

--The conference commends President Muhammad Husni Mubarak for receiving the Palestinian leader, Yasir 'Arafat, leader of the Palestinian Resistance when [the latter] was passing through Egyptian territory after his departure from Tripoli, Lebanon. This meeting is considered to be [an action] supporting the efforts that are being made to regain the rights of the Palestinian people. It tops the actions taken by the SLP and crowns that party's continuous positions to champion the Palestinian freedom fighters under the leadership of the PLO.

8. [sic] Diplomatic relations with Israel are to be broken if it does not withdraw immediately from Lebanon.

--Recalling the Egyptian ambassador from Israel was not an adequate response to Israel's continued occupation of parts of Lebanese territory and its insistence that it continue building settlements on occupied Palestinian territory, in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, as well as its efforts to slow down Egypt's efforts to get the area of Taba back--an area in the Sinai Peninsula. These actions require that all diplomatic relations with Israel be broken, particularly since the members of the Egyptian embassy in Israel are being threatened continuously.

9. The Camp David Accords are to be frozen because of Israel's repeated violations of those accords.

Israel has in fact repeatedly violated the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty. These violations began with the bombing of the Iraqi nuclear reactor, [and they went on to include] annexation of the Golan, the declaration of Jerusalem as the united capital of Israel, the deadlock in the autonomy talks, the invasion of Lebanon, the massacre at Sabra and Shatila, the continued establishment of settlements on occupied Palestinian territory, and the threat the Israelis posed to the departure by sea of Yasir 'Arafat and his colleagues from Tripoli under the UN flag. All this makes it necessary that the treaty be frozen since the two parties have corresponding obligations.

Third, in the Area of Practicing Democracy and Ensuring Honest Elections:

10. The required guarantees for the elections process are to be set forth in the law.

--An appeal is being made to establish [in law] the guarantees that were proposed by the chairman of the party to ensure the integrity and neutrality of the elections. The party chairman's proposal was included in the draft bill that he submitted to the People's Assembly to amend the law [regulating] the exercise of political rights. Foremost among those guarantees are particularly the following:

A. The voters' rolls in each electoral district are to be identical to the civil status registers so that the names of people who are deceased and people who are no longer residing in the country can be deleted and the names of young men who have reached the voting age can be added.

B. People are to vote on the basis of their personal or family identification cards; it is not necessary to obtain special voting cards which are handed out arbitrarily.

C. Each voter is to provide his signature or his imprint next to his name when he votes. This will confirm that he was present in person.

D. Instead of the elections department in the Ministry of Internal Affairs a judicial panel is to oversee the elections process.

11. Laws that restrict freedom are to be repealed, and Muslim and Christian clergymen are to return to their functions.

All the laws that take away and restrict public and personal freedoms, the so-called laws of ill-repute, [are to be repealed]. Foremost among these laws are the law of political parties, which imposes restrictions on the establishment of parties and prescribes that a custodian be appointed for them, and the law that pertains to protecting the domestic front and social peace and determines political isolation. The existing decree [regulating] students' associations is to be repealed; that decree had divested these associations of their distinctive student quality. Archbishop Shinouda and all Muslim and Christian clergymen are to resume their activities which had been prohibited in accordance with the resolutions of September 1981. The law that forbids clergymen from discussing the public's problems and public decisions in houses of worship is to be repealed.

12. The eight percent condition set forth in the People's Assembly Election Law is to be abolished.

--The condition that a political party receive eight percent of the total vote nationwide as a condition for being represented in the People's Assembly is to be abolished because it would be difficult to ascertain that this percentage was not available and because it is feared that that condition may be used as a tool to keep out candidates who win an election but who are from a particular party.

13. The state of emergency is to be lifted because it conflicts with the freedom of the elections.

--The declared state of emergency is to be abolished before nominations for the People's Assembly are filed. Application of the emergency law should at least be suspended while the elections process is underway: that is, from the time nominations are filed until the results of the elections are announced.

14. A neutral government is to assume power during the elections period.

--A neutral, non-partisan government is to assume power during the elections campaign to ensure that agencies of government do not side with the candidates of the ruling party.

15. Equal access to the media is to be provided for [political] parties.

--Equal access to the media--radio and television--is to be provided to [political] parties as of the beginning of the new year.

Fourth, in the Area of Culture and Information

16. The Crisis of Television and Radio:

A. Although the Radio and Television Association Act stipulates that radio and television are national media and although these agencies have a national board of trustees to manage and direct them, the ruling party has exclusive access to the two television channels and to radio stations. The activities of other parties are ignored.

If elections for the People's Assembly are to be held in Egypt in the next few months, then the Radio and Television Association Act must be implemented so that from now political parties can have equal access to the media to explain their programs and present their ideas to citizens. [They can thus discuss] political, economic, social, educational and cultural affairs as well as other questions and the people's basic problems.

B. The conference also recommends that the board of trustees for the Radio and Television Association be reorganized and that it include intellectuals who are concerned about the value of these media. All political parties are to be represented on that board.

C. The conference recommends that the procurement of imported films and dubious foreign serials that are full of violence and sex be stopped. These movies and serials are exported to us by the United States and by Zionist clients in that country. Procurement of these movies and serials should be stopped to protect the moral and religious principles and traditions of the Egyptian people and to protect the cultural heritage of our Arab nation.

D. The conference is asking that honest principles be firmly established and that television and radio production be steered in the direction of setting good examples and presenting [programs about] heroic Egyptian, Arab and Muslim leaders.

E. Total care should be devoted to the task of reforming conditions, repairing equipment and improving the production [efforts] of Egyptian radio and television so as to restore to those agencies their prestige in Egypt and in the remaining Arab countries.

F. The conference is asking that video clubs be barred from showing base and vile movies and that everything that infringes upon morals and virtue be confiscated.

17. The position of national press organizations and freedom of the press:

The conference of the Socialist Labor Party regrets to state for the record the biased position that national newspapers have assumed because they ignore news of its activities and news of the activities of opposition parties as well. This is not consistent with the fact that these newspapers are said to be national. This attitude turns these newspapers into government newspapers to which the ruling party has exclusive access.

A. The conference is calling for repeal of the Press Authority Act, Law No 148 for 1980, and its executive decree.

B. The conference is also calling for repeal of the stipulation that press organizations be owned by the Shura Council. It is also asking that these organizations be converted into joint-stock companies whose shares can be acquired by citizens and employees, provided that no shareholder own more than a certain number of shares. The general assembly [of the stockholders' association] is to elect the newspaper's board of directors and editor-in-chief.

C. The conference asserts the right of each party and each political and national movement to publish newspapers which express the opinions of members.

D. The conference is also asking that all restrictions imposed on resuming the publication of newspapers and magazines which had been published earlier and were banned by the September 1981 decree be lifted.

E. The conference also affirms the need to stimulate and support the regional press. Regional newspapers are to be liberated from the control that governors and government officials in governorates have over them so they can speak about citizens' problems truthfully.

F. The conference affirms the need to abolish the Supreme Press Council and to support the Press Union and the General Union for Workers in the Press and in the Printing and Publishing [Industries].

G. The conference also thinks it is necessary to abolish the press office in the Ministry of Information and to liberate newspapers from that office's supervision and instructions so that freedom of opinion and freedom of speech can be protected.

H. The conference is asking that the conditions of the Middle East News Agency be reconsidered and that it be extricated from the poor, deteriorating conditions [that are prevalent] in the agency so it can perform its national role [using] the most modern means and equipment and the best leaders.

The conference is also asking that leaders of opposition parties be given the opportunity to meet periodically in their club with representatives of news agencies and foreign newspaper correspondents, just as leaders of the ruling party do.

The conference is asking that the conditions of Egypt's information offices abroad be reconsidered and that a strategy be devised for the activities of the foreign information agency.

I. The conference is asking that the Publications Law be amended so that books and publications can be unhampered by [threats of] confiscation, banning and censorship. [The conference is also asking] for the repeal of the new law which was issued this year by the People's Assembly forbidding the republication of books and magazines that are published abroad. The conference also insists that old and new emergency laws be repealed to provide freedom of speech and to give people the freedom to find out what their intellectuals, their writers and their journalists in all agencies of the media think.

18. The role of culture and the arts in building [the character of] the Egyptian Arab:

Because of the important role culture and the arts play in building [the character of] nations and individuals, the conference of the Socialist Labor Party is asking for [the following] to emphasize the importance of culture and arts agencies in building [the character of] a sound Egyptian, Arab citizen.

A. These agencies are to be supported and liberated from censorship and government control so they can perform their popular role in the best possible manner. Culture agencies must not be viewed only as tools for recreation, amusement and popular information.

The party is asking that movie theaters, theaters and popular cultural establishments be made available and that care be given to public sector as well as private sector studios within the confines set by reason, sentiment and patriotism.

B. The conference is also asking that customs fees on devices and equipment for the theater and for movies be reduced or that some of these devices and equipment be exempted from such fees since the theater, the movies and books have a cultural and an educational mission. [The conference is asking] that attention be devoted to schools and to the children's theater.

B. [sic] The conference is asking that a necessary staff of artists be made available to stimulate progress in the theater and in the movies and provide a theatrical culture. [The conference is asking] that specialized institutes of art be supported and that the conventions and the literature of the theater be fostered.

C. The conference is also asking that public libraries be made universally available in neighborhoods. These libraries are to be enhanced by adding references and books [to existing collections]. The writing and publishing of books is to be encouraged, and the Public Organization for Books is to be developed so it can offer valuable books at suitable popular prices and resume its mission of translating the classics and making them available at a suitable price.

The conference is asking that school and university textbooks be purged of historical and national inconsistencies. The conference is asking that care be exercised in teaching about Egyptian and Arab social revolutions and that the question of Palestine be placed on the curriculum in basic education [classes].

The conference emphasizes the importance of providing cultural fare to school students and university students and spreading culture and the arts in their midst. Culture and the arts are the people's treasure.

4. There is no doubt that the intellectual and emotional development of the Egyptian Arab can only come about through an honest cultural movement. This can come about by providing freedom of speech and guaranteeing freedom of speech to all writers and artists.

We are also to protect our cultural and our popular heritage from the barbaric attacks of Zionism. This can only be achieved by establishing an association of Arab artists and writers. Hence the conference is appealing to Arab artists and writers to set up this association soon.

#### Fifth, in the Area of Agricultural Policy

1. Cooperative Marketing of Cotton: The conference thinks that the cooperative system for marketing cotton in its present form is nothing more than a process of turning over the cotton crop to the government with the state controlling [the operation] under the guise of calling that system a cooperative system. That system has caused the terrain that is cultivated with cotton to shrink 1 year after another because farmers are not planting cotton. This system has also hurt the grades of cotton because no attention is devoted to improved harvesting [methods]. That has affected the reputation of Egyptian cotton in foreign markets even though [for us] cotton is one of the principal sources of foreign currency; it is one of the principal crops that provides the needs of Egyptian industry. Therefore, the conference has resolved to ask the government to give farmers the freedom to sell their cotton crop voluntarily by letting buyers make competitive bids for the purchase of cotton or by having a real cooperative marketing system to ensure that farmers receive the real price for their crop. Until that is done, the conference is asking that the price of cotton be increased so that the price of cotton can come close to export prices, be compatible with the costs of production, and realize a lucrative return to farmers.

#### 2. The mandatory turning over of the rice crop:

The conference is also asking that the rules mandating that the rice crop be turned over [to authorities] be reconsidered as follows:

A. Areas of one feddan or less where rice is grown are to be exempt from the

mandatory requirement of turning over the crop so that a small producer can have a surplus for his own consumption.

B. The ratio of the rice crop that is to be turned over from areas larger than one feddan where rice is grown is to be reduced to a tax instead of the half tax.

C. The voluntary delivery price for 1 ton of rice is to be 150 pounds so that farmers would have an incentive for turning over their surplus rice.

D. The imprisonment penalty for failing to turn over a rice crop is to be abolished; that penalty is to be replaced with a fine equal to the damages incurred as a result of the failure to turn over the rice.

### 3. The mandatory turning over of the wheat crop:

The conference agrees that a portion of the wheat [farmers grow] is to be turned over [to authorities], provided that areas where wheat is grown, which are less than one feddan, be exempted from that requirement so that small farmers can have the wheat they need for their own consumption. The conference is asking that the price of wheat be increased.

4. Fertilizer averages for crops: The conference is asking the government to increase fertilizer averages so that the objectives of a vertical increase in crops can be realized. Necessary measures are to be taken to protect against the watering down of fertilizers fertilizers and damage to fertilizer sacks as well as shortages due to poor storage conditions in warehouses. The conference is asking that fertilizer prices be stabilized so that the policy of reducing production costs can be realized.

### 5. Agricultural Automation

The conference resolves that expansion in the use of agricultural automation in all farming operations has become a necessity required by agricultural development and by the need to face the shortage of farm labor due to the emigration of workers and the expansion of education in rural areas. Furthermore, automation reduces production costs and saves the efforts of livestock so that more meat and milk can be produced. In this regard the conference is asking for the following:

A. Training centers are to be established for workers who are needed to operate farming machinery. Workers are not to operate the machinery unless they have received a certificate from the center.

C. [sic] A fair price is to be set for performing every service, and the owner of the machinery and the farmer are to abide by that price.

D. An effort is to be made to protect farmers from the rising prices of mobile irrigation machines and tractors by trying to expand the manufacturing of such machinery locally to meet the needs of farmers.

### 6. Farming Cooperatives

The conference emphasizes the importance of farming cooperatives as popular organizations and units of production that play an effective role in realizing the

objectives of the state's farming policy, improving [conditions] in Egypt's rural areas and bringing those conditions closer to urban standards. The conference thinks that farming cooperatives in their present state are not able to realize the objectives that it was hoped they would achieve. Therefore, [the conference recommends] the following:

A. The cooperative bank, which is mentioned in the Farming Cooperative Act, must be established so that the funds of cooperatives may be deposited in it; the bank can then invest those funds to serve its members.

B. All forms of custodianship set up by the government over cooperatives are to be lifted, and the government's role as overseer is to be confined to that of ascertaining that the law and the agricultural policy are being properly applied and that the funds which the state loans to cooperatives are being properly utilized.

C. Investments for the cooperative sector are to be included in the state's plan, provided that agricultural societies assume their responsibilities and invest those funds in the areas of food security, rural industries and other projects that would improve conditions in rural areas.

D. An effort is to be made to convene the general assemblies of agricultural cooperative societies at those locations that are mentioned in the law because these general assemblies are the highest authorities controlling the activities of agricultural cooperatives. This effort is to be made so that meetings of general assemblies do not become superficial functions.

E. An effort is to be made to expand cooperative training for members of agricultural cooperatives so that careful leaders, staff people and members of cooperatives can be developed. [These people would then have the ability to] understand the principles and objectives of cooperatives.

#### 6. Pricing Policy for Agricultural Crops

The conference recommends that the pricing policy for agricultural crops be reconsidered so that prices can be close to export prices. Farmers can thus receive a rewarding return from their crops, and that would give them an incentive to adhere to cultivating those areas that are targeted for cultivation in the state's plan.

#### 8. The Relationship between Owners of Farm Land and Tenants

The conference is charging the Farmers' Secretariat of the Socialist Labor Party with [the task of] raising the question of the relationship between owners of farm land and tenants. This matter is to be discussed among members of the party so that the grassroots membership can offer solutions to it. The relationship between landlord and tenant and the fact that that relationship rests on just principles is one of the matters to which the party is attaching importance. This is based on the fact that such a relationship would be the real way to increase agricultural production. A conference for that purpose is to be held after the matter is presented to the grassroots membership of the party.

## 9. Farm Land and the Vertical Increase in Production

Good production can only come from good land. To realize the objectives of a vertical increase in production, it is essential that an effort be made to improve soil quality and soil fertility. Soil fertility in 90 percent of the land has reached grade four, and that is a serious indicator that the soil of farm land, which is Egypt's most precious resource, is deteriorating. Therefore the conference is asking the government to include among the priorities of its plan that of expediting the process of improving soil quality and increasing soil fertility. The necessary investments must be made to achieve that [objective] in the shortest possible period of time since returns on investments made in this area are fast, yielding as much as a 25 percent [return on investment] in the same year.

The conference is also asking the government to speed up its reclamation of over 250,000 feddans of fallow land that is interspersed throughout the cultivated terrain. This is land for which means of irrigation and drainage are fully available. Farming cooperatives that are located in the vicinity of this fallow land are to assume responsibility for working this land and improving it, provided that the state offer them funds, machinery and the necessary experience for such an undertaking.

### The Composition of Agricultural Crops:

Farming in Egypt is still being conducted in the old style: traditional crops are cultivated. Wherefore, it has become essential that there be a new view so that farming can be developed and improved and farm land can be utilized in a way that is ideally suited to give farmers and the state the maximum income.

Therefore the conference is asking the government to step up its reconsideration of the present composition of crops and the extent to which it would be possible to make changes in that composition by cultivating new crops for export that would strive to develop exports.

The political consequences of bringing about the required implementation [of this matter] with regard to providing the wheat we need from the wheat crop are to be taken into consideration.

## 11. Irrigation and Drainage

The conference is asking the government to step up [its efforts] to make covered drainage generally available nationwide because of its good effects on improving the soil, preserving soil fertility and bringing about a horizontal increase in acreage. An effort is to be made to avoid the harmful effects [of covered drainage systems]: shut down inspection rooms, idle air vents, and the failure to maintain [those systems]. Otherwise, the results that had been hoped for from the project would be jeopardized.

The conference is also asking the government to devote attention to [the process of] clearing drains, creeks and uncovered irrigation ditches whose condition has become so poor as to pose a serious threat to the status of drainage and irrigation. Such a threat would affect the safety of irrigation and drainage methods.

The acquisition of small dredging machines by farming cooperatives is to be taken into account so that these farming cooperatives can perform the clearing chores in a better manner.

#### --In the Area of Productivity and the Problem of Wages

The Socialist Labor Party believes that productive work, which is performed earnestly and honestly, is the principal foundation upon which the country's progress and prosperity are based. The party believes that economic development can only come about through a connection between three ingredients. These are, [first], horizontal development, which [is carried out] by adding new units of production as reclaiming and cultivating land and building more factories; [second], vertical development, which means increasing the productivity of existing units of production by providing vocational guidance and training and developing the tools of operations; and, [third], staying in step with technological progress and devising technical improvements in the tools and methods of production and maintenance. This means safeguarding production capacity, existing units of production and natural and human resources from what may thwart production. Tying wages to productivity is also deemed to have a far-reaching effect on increasing workers' productivity. Therefore, the conference recommends the following to increase productivity for the purpose of doubling production.

1. A national council on productivity is to be established. Its members are to include representatives of management and labor unions and an appropriate number of professors and technical experts regardless of their party affiliations. That council is to adopt a course of supporting policies and programs [promoting] productivity in all areas in general.
2. A center for applied labor studies is to be established. That center is to set down the modes of operation that would be referred to in measuring productivity standards, in estimating the various labor needs of projects and in tying wages to productivity.
3. Job descriptions and classifications are to be completed until a standard serving the purposes of training and [the notion of] tying wages to production is reached.
4. Tying wages to production is considered a measure that would help in the formulation and execution of a wise wage and price policy which could curb inflation and hold it down to a minimum.
5. A special course on guidance and productivity is to be added to the curricula of colleges of engineering, economics and business; it should also be added to the curricula of the institutes of higher management and public administration. In addition to the academic aspect of the course, the course should cover applied cases showing models of successful guidance and planning achieved by advanced countries and some developing countries.

With regard to the policy on wages, which has an effect on workers' productivity, the conference thinks that application of the open-door policy and the establishment of foreign banks and investment companies have created a sharp imbalance in the structure of wages. There are now three levels of wages. That fact has led

to a disparity in incomes and has disrupted the purchasing power [of citizens]. This phenomenon was reflected primarily on productivity in government and in the public sector. Moreover, it undermined the purchasing power of wages as a result of continuing price increases. In this regard, therefore, the conference recommends [the following]:

1. A wage and price agency that would formulate a wise policy on wages and oversee its implementation is to be established. On the one hand, that wage policy would tie wages to the cost of living and, on the other hand, it would tie wages to productivity. This agency would be authorized to fight inflation and achieve justice in the distribution of wages and national revenues. That agency must be established on the basis of representing three parties: workers, employers-- [i.e.,] management--and authorized government agencies.
2. A system that would increase pensions in proportion to increases in the rate of inflation is to be adopted. This would reduce the suffering of people living on pensions, and it would put an end to the continuing decline of their real incomes as inflation continues to get worse.
3. A ceiling on salaries and bonuses is to be set in all sectors, and that should be applied to chairmen of boards of directors, to directors of investment companies and to senior executives in those companies. The gross disparity between workers' wages in government and in the public sector and the wages of employees in the private sector and in investment projects is to be checked.

Eighth, in the Area of Setting Population and Demographic Policies on the Right Course:

Although the conference of the Socialist Labor Party shares the government's interest in the population problem, the conference thinks that the government's policy in that regard tends to magnify the problem with its references to the so-called population explosion. The conference also does not agree with the government in its limited view of the population problem as a separate problem, nor does it concur with the government's failure to devote attention to investigating the interaction between this problem and other phenomena and problems. The conference emphasizes that a population problem does not exist apart from a problem with the ideal investment of economic resources. If resources can be developed at a rate that is higher or that is not less than the rate of population growth, there would be no problem. The problem arises when the rate of development is lower than that of the population growth, as is the case now. The problem arises when the rate of development cannot catch up with the rate of population growth in the near or distant future.

But it is not enough to achieve a balance between the rate of development and that of population growth. That balance must be linked with a proper distribution of the population over the various areas of the country to avoid such high concentrations of the population in some regions as well as crowding in major cities that the capabilities, services and facilities of those cities are overburdened. Therefore, a population policy must be formulated on the basis of steering population growth into new residential areas that can attract and accommodate large numbers of people. Everything must be done to put an end to the congestion in major cities, especially in Cairo and Alexandria and some capitals of

governorates. This indicates that a population policy is a complex multidimensional and multi-faceted policy. It is not merely a campaign for promoting family planning as a means for limiting the growth of the population. The discussions and recommendations of the Bucharest Population Conference proved that family planning has no tangible effect [on population growth] and that family planning methods are not popular with the people of Third World countries. Attention ought to be devoted primarily to [the task of] wiping out illiteracy, developing resources and increasing the rate of economic development.

We are not to turn to family planning unless the rate of economic growth [in the country] fails to catch up with the rate of population growth. In this case the aim of family planning would be to close the gap between these two rates. One notices that what in Egypt is called the national family planning campaign or [the effort] to tame the so-called population explosion is not founded on scientific and practical principles. Publicity and profiteering have taken hold of that effort.

If the funds that are being spent on the family planning campaign, with the support of international agencies and some foreign countries, were being spent on a campaign to combat illiteracy, more positive results would have been realized in the area of voluntary family planning.

Therefore, the conference finds it imperative that the population policy be reconsidered on scientific, practical and more realistic bases. These may be summarized as follows:

1. An effort is to be made to increase [the rate of] development so that it would correspond with the rate of population [growth] in the shortest time possible and exceed it as much as possible in the future.
2. Plans to expand inhabited areas are to be made so that the burden placed by the population on the Nile Delta and the narrow Nile Valley strip would be reduced. The population increase would be steered into new residential areas that would be established in suitable areas at a suitable rate.
3. In establishing these new residential areas consideration must be given to the fact that plans for these areas are to be formulated in the light of a feasibility study of their future resources and their ability to accommodate people. Such areas must have production establishments that provide opportunities for employment, and they must have facilities, services and means of transportation and communication between them and the rest of the country.
4. The horizontal and vertical growth of major cities like Cairo, Alexandria, Tanta, al-Mansurah, Damamhur and Sawhaj is to be frozen, and the tendency for the population of these cities to grow is to be curbed by the following means:
  - A. Horizontal growth on the outskirts of the city is to be restricted.
  - B. Vertical expansion is to be stopped by prohibiting the construction of high-rises in cities that are not prepared to handle those high-rises. New neighborhoods are to be established, and these are to be appropriately planned for the construction of such high-rises.

C. Decentralization is to be applied by restricting the work force in the central departments of ministries and in administrations to the [smallest] minimum possible.

D. The management offices of major companies that have installations or plants located in the governorates are to be transferred from the capital to those areas where those installations or plants are located. A decision had been made on such a measure, but the companies dragged their feet in implementing it, and the government took no practical measures to force the companies to carry it out.

E. Construction of new plants or installations on the outskirts of Cairo or Alexandria is to be prohibited.

5. Rural areas are to be stimulated, and facilities in rural areas are to be improved to curb the tendency people have to migrate to cities. This is to be done on the following bases:

A. Manual industries are to be encouraged, as well as small industries specializing in the production of parts that are to be assembled in assembly plants that serve a number of villages.

B. Agricultural industries that are compatible with the crops which are usually grown in neighboring areas are to be encouraged.

C. The recreational resources of rural areas are to be utilized by turning some villages into summer or winter resorts or places for rest and relaxation.

Eighth, in the Area of Party Affairs:

1. Amending the Party's Bylaws

The conference approved motions that were made to amend the party's bylaws. These include in particular:

A. A set of regulations is to be drawn up in accordance with Articles 8 and 9 of the bylaws for questioning party members who violate the principles and the bylaws of the party.

B. The number of staff members in offices is to be set, and the manner in which they are elected is to be determined.

C. Two new organizational levels are to be introduced into the structure [of the party]: the level of the local committee and that of the precinct committee.

D. The authorities and the make-up of the general secretariat are to be clarified.

E. The organizational structure [of the party] is to be rearranged from the bottom upwards.

F. The dates for periodic elections of office staff members of all levels, even the governorate committee, are to be determined.

G. The constituents' committee has the right to cast a vote of confidence in the

staff of its office. [Such a vote has to have] a three-fourths majority of those attending a meeting convened for that purpose.

2. Two organizations are to be established within the party: one for young people and one for women.

[The conference] recommends that an organization be established for the young people of the party and another for the women of the Socialist Labor Party. The rules for establishing these two organizations are to be laid down by the Executive Committee and approved by the Supreme Committee.

### 3. AL-SHA'B Newspaper

In praising the role that the newspaper, AL-SHA'B played in defending the course of democracy and expressing the ideas and principles of the party, the conference thinks it is important that the newspaper be developed and supported so it can stay in step with current conditions that are being experienced by the country.

The conference is affirming the need to have AL-SHA'B come out more than once a week or to have a second party newspaper besides AL-SHA'B come out weekly. The dimensions of AL-SHA'B as well as its sections are also to be changed.

The conference also finds it necessary that the party's newspaper devote attention to religious aspects and to youth activities. Appropriate space for that purpose should be provided in the newspaper. Attention should be devoted to highlighting the news and activities of parliament, the news and problems of governors and news of party committees. Attention should also be devoted to investigative reports, to articles that present the public's problems and to articles that make the party's program and its ideas and principles known.

The conference calls upon the newspaper's board of directors and its editorial board to draw up an urgent plan [to effect] this development and change.

The conference also calls upon the party's Executive Committee to look into the establishment of a publishing house that would also publish a newspaper.

### 4. An In-House Publication

The conference calls upon the Information Secretariat to publish the party's in-house publication nationwide and to work with the party's committees on the publication of in-house publications that record the party's activities.

### 5. The Financial Report

The conference declares its approval of the financial report that was submitted by the colleague, the treasurer of the party. The conference also thanks him for the efforts he made in preparing the report.

### 6. The Secretary General's Report

The secretary general's report on party activities informed the conference of the party's various activities. The conference is asking that efforts be made to

complete the requirements that have been deemed necessary for the party's committees which have not yet been able to obtain sites [for their operations]. The conference is also asking that educational courses for party members be increased.

#### 7. The Statement of the Party's Chairman

The general conference also states for the record its appreciation for the statement about the party's policy that was presented to the conference by the chairman of the party. The general conference declares its support for what was stated in that statement.

8592

CSO: 4504/124

AMERICAN UNIVERSITY PROFESSOR ENCOURAGES MUBARAK TO SUPPORT DEMOCRACY

Cairo AL-AHALI in Arabic 16 Nov 83 p 6

[Article by Dr Sa'd al-Din Ibrahim, professor at the American University in Cairo: "In Defense of Democracy: the President Admonished"]

[Text] The spirit of President Husni Mubarak's recent address to the People's Assembly placed maximum emphasis on a commitment to democracy. All of us find this emphasis reassuring. It firmly establishes Egypt's leadership role in this regard among countries of the Arab homeland. This is because democracy has become the object that Arab masses are clamoring for; they are demanding democracy so they can find a way out of the disasters wrought on them by autocracy.

However, the president's display of irritation with the Committee of National Forces for Defending Democracy was at odds with the general spirit of the address. Democracy means expanding the avenues of people's participation in political life. It means that citizens, as individuals and as groups, can assume the initiative of organizing and expressing [themselves]. It means that citizens are not to wait in this regard until the state issues them a permit to do that. If citizens think that democracy is being threatened or its course impeded, it is their right, as it is the right of the National Committee, to call attention to that fact by what they say and what they do as long as their efforts [in that regard] are peaceful and as long as these efforts are carried out within the framework of law and order.

It is up to the president to encourage such initiatives and to engage those who undertake such initiatives in discussions. It is up to the president to make space available for such people to express themselves to the public through the national media. We concede that Husni Mubarak did do a great deal for democracy, but there is still much more to be done, and the people's forces must assume their responsibilities.

[Signed]: Dr Sa'd al-Din Ibrahim, professor at the American University [in Cairo].

8592

CSO: 4504/123

# ESTABLISHMENT OF NEW GOVERNORATE WEST OF DELTA EXAMINED

Cairo AL-AKHBAR in Arabic 27 Dec 83 p 3

[Article by Faruq 'Abd-al-Mun'im: "The Story of the Origins of the 27th Governorate on Egypt's Map: The New Governorate Will Include Parts of Alexandria, Matruh and Al-Buhayrah"]

[Text] This is the story of the origins of the 27th governorate on Egypt's map, the new governorate for which 28 ministers met for 7 whole hours in its proposed capital, under the chairmanship of Eng 'Izz-al-Din Hilal, deputy prime minister and minister of petroleum and mineral resources, in his capacity as chairman of the production committee in the Council of Ministers.

As Eng Hasaballah al-Kafrawi says, the new governorate contains adjacent parts of the Governorates of Alexandria, al-Buhayrah and Marsa Matruh to which the hands of reform reached out decades ago, until it was turned into a new society with its own attributes, which differ from Alexandria, Matruh and al-Buhayrah -- a society containing a new kind of industry, agriculture, mining and economy as well.

Eng 'Izz-al-Din Hilal, chairman of the ministerial production committee, says that the Council of Ministers will discuss a report which the committee has finished preparing and will take up the meeting again in the same location, including additional ministers, the ministers of the interior and health, in order to set out a full picture of existing services as well as services that are required, preparatory to discussing them in the context of the Council of Ministers and presenting a report to President Husni Mubarak, who will visit the area in order to announce the establishment of the 27th governorate on Egypt's map.

## A Quarter of a Million Feddans

The new governorate contains an area that is so far estimated at about a quarter of a million feddans, and is in terms of its area the equal of other governorates. Revolving about the axis of the number one new city on the map of Egypt, the new city of al-'Amiriyah, a series of new towns will be launched to cope with the swelling population around Cairo and Alexandria.

In meetings with the two governors, Maj Gen Fawzi Ma'adh, the governor of Alexandria, and Maj Gen Yusri al-Shami, the governor of Matruh, the agricultural expert Eng Sa'd Kamil, secretary general of the Governorate of Matruh, who has returned from the United States of America on a delegation concerned with coastal village planning, and Labib Zamzam, the governor of al-Buhayrah, AL-AKHBAR has produced the materials on the establishment of this new, 27th governorate.

#### Resources and Services

The beginning and the takeoff were aimed at the realization of the policy of self-sufficiency in food and the selection of the West al-Nubariyah area as a region of horizontal expansion where all the major resources for establishing an advanced agricultural industrial commercial complex come together, in the form of the great area of land fit for reclamation, its situation on the main desert road linking Cairo and Alexandria, its proximity to populated areas and the ease in supplying it with infrastructure facilities and services.

Governorate 27 includes the West al-Nubariyah sector, the northwestern Delta and part of the northern coast, which is about 8 kilometers from the Mediterranean. The southern boundary is about 80 kilometers from Alexandria, and to the west it extends to the al-Dab'ah and El Alamein areas. The total area comes to about 320,000 feddans; it exceeds a quarter of a million feddans.

As far as resources are concerned, the most important of these is the existence of water for irrigation or drinking. Irrigation water is furnished by a number of major sources that already exist on the map, now that some modifications and expansions have taken place. The al-Buhayrah canal has been expanded to a length of 83 kilometers, to reach the al-Nubariyah canal and then the al-Nasiri canal on the Nile, to supply the al-Nubariyah canal also. In addition, there is the expansion of the al-Nubariyah canal itself, up to the beginning of the al-Nasr canal, between kilometers 46 and 57, and finally the construction of the al-Nasr canal, the main canal in the project, which will be 150 kilometers long, up to the El Alamein area. The major portion, which will be of help in sustaining irrigation, has been completed, and in addition a suitable number of major lifting stations have been erected on the al-Nasr canal to raise the water later on in a manner that will conform to the elevation of the land.

What is new here in Governorate 27 is the fact that the irrigation methods are modern, the farming methods are modern, and the methods of harvesting crops are also modern. Technology has come into the new governorate in every respect. There is irrigation by a giant horizontally moving machine which is among the most modern pieces of equipment in the world, to direct irrigation water; this mechanism can irrigate from 500 to 600 feddans every 16 hours.

There also is axial irrigation by means of a special new machine which revolves about a fixed, circular axis and contains a group of sprinklers which can irrigate from 100 to 150 feddans, in addition to other kinds of sprinkling which experts in agriculture call semi-fixed irrigation, drip irrigation, surface irrigation, and so forth. Appropriate planning has been

laid out for the drainage system, so that that will flow into the Mediterranean directly or into the West al-Nubariyah drainage channel, and the area has been supplied by a covered drainage system in order to eliminate any rise in the groundwater level.

Drinking water, as Mag Gen Yusri al-Shami, the governor of Matruh, says, is available along the main water line connecting Alexandria to the north coast up to the area of El Alamein, and in addition there is a complete system of water pipes, tanks and drainage plants which draw from the Maryut drinking water station located on the al-Nubariyah canal; that is, irrigation and drinking water are available.

#### Communications and Electricity

Communications are very available. There is the main desert road connecting Cairo and Alexandria, then the one linking Alexandria to Marsa Matruh, the one linking the desert road to the Gianaklis and Abu-al-Matamir areas, then the Abu-al-Matamir-Kafr al-Dawwar road. In addition, there is a group of specific, inner roads linking the villages to the new capital, and it is easy to transport crops. There also is the port of al-Dukhaylah, which will be considered the port for the new governorate, near al-'Amiriyah, and the conversion of some runways of Gianaklis airport to export some important crops from the country.

The new governorate contains different kinds of natural raw materials, foremost among them oil and the industries derived from that, which experts call the petrochemicals industry. There are metals industries also; Eng Sa'd Kamil, the secretary general of Matruh Governorate, says that there is gypsum ore amounting to more than 3.25 million tons in the al-'Amid area and about 10 million tons in the al-Gharbayinat area which is located between Kilometer 34 and Kilometer 58 on the Matruh-Alexandria [road].

There is the limestone rock area very close to the town of al-'Amiriyah, which produces from 4 to 6 million tons a year. The presence of gypsum and limestone will result in the establishment of a cement industry in various forms. There are the raw materials of sand, gravel, pebbles and clay, as well as the raw material of salt in various forms in Lake Maryut, and also fish, sponge, and so forth, and sodium carbonate.

As far as agriculture goes, Eng Fathallah Kirah, the person in charge of the agricultural companies in the area, says that there are great natural resources. There is horizontal and vertical agricultural expansion, the creation of an integrated agricultural processing complex, and land reclamation companies which are established there to give deeds to farmers and university graduates as well.

In the region there is an area estimated at about 64,000 feddans set aside to be distributed to beneficiaries in 6-feddan lots for cultivation in a crop cycle one-third of which consists of sugar beets, one-third of fodder and vegetables, and one-third of traditional crops, as well as joint investment projects with a group of British, Dutch and other companies, to establish integrated agricultural complexes to create agricultural industries based on the area's vegetable, fodder and livestock product output.

About the town of New al-'Amiriyah there are crops of a special character, figs, grapes, bananas, olives, herbs, mint, and so forth, in view of the nature of the soil and the site.

Governorate 27 will be able to produce a winter cycle of crops such as fava beans, barley, wheat, tomatoes, spinach, artichokes, potatoes, cauliflower, cabbage, pease, beans, bersim, sugar cane and some other vegetables.

[There is] a summer cycle that includes watermelons, canteloupe, eggplant, zucchini, Syrian corn, okra, pepper, bananas, cucumbers, potatoes and onions, in addition to different types of cotton and different types of rice as well.

Livestock production is focussed on sheep, particularly Cyrenaican sheep, and different types of ordinary, mixed and Frisian buffaloes, and different forms of cattle, goats and camels as well, in addition to poultry, since the area has room for millions of incubators for eggs for the table or the production of chicks. Also, there are different hens, chicks, and different types of ducks, geese, pigeons and other fowl. The new thing here is the existence of an integrated project for stations for water fowl such as Peking duck, egg production and incubation, and the accumulation of mother geese with the exploitation of the water channel adjacent to the fish farm station, which will be supplied by the refuse of water fowl on the basis of the theory of symbiosis between fish and water fowl. There also are projects for raising turkey, which is considered the highest class white meat, and one of the most meat-productive of animals. This will be sold at very low prices, about 2.25 pounds per kilogram, at average weights of 7 to 12 kilograms. There also are projects to produce and raise bees and honey.

#### Settlement and Housing

With respect to settlement and housing, there is industrial housing for the largest agricultural processing complex in the Middle East for processing and canning fruit, vegetables and milk, as well as industrial housing for the beet sugar mill with a daily capacity of about 30,000 tons a day, from which 5,000 tons of beet sugar will be produced per day.

On the road there are about 150 villages to serve the region, supplied with all services, medical and social care, and village banks, and these are linked by a system of paved roads and supplied with electricity. In addition, there are three main new towns comprising all administrative and industrial services and general services. Alongside the 150 villages for services there are 120 agricultural villages comprising model housing units for the residence of peasants, as well as seven central villages. The village is served by 27,000 to 35,000 feddans and it contains 500 housing units.

In conclusion, Governorate 27 will be a governorate producing for Alexandria, Matruh and al-Buhayrah and a natural extension of living facilities to solve the shortage in housing, communications and so forth, after it is linked with easy communications available over a period of 24 full hours in the three governorates.

DOMESTIC CIVILIAN, MILITARY MANUFACTURING PROGRESS REVIEWED

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 1 Dec 83 p 3

[Article by Ahmad Fu'ad: "The Phrase 'Made in Egypt' -- How Has War Production Made It a Reality?"]

[Text] How can war production in Egypt make the phrase "made in Egypt" a reality? This was the question we presented to the man who is in charge of the war production sector, Dr Jamal al-Sayyid, minister of state for war production. He said, "First one must explain that war industries, in all countries' strategies, represent the peak of scientific and technological progress. War industry is the pioneer in resurgence in all countries in the world. This industry's repercussions on the civilian sector from all angles, everywhere in the world, are no secret to anyone."

Military industries in Egypt play a basic, influential role in making the phrase "made in Egypt" a reality.

One of the most important goals of the Ministry of War Production is to provide the necessary requirements for the armed forces, in war and peace, and to contribute to the domestic economy through industrial and commercial activity in the context of the general development plan, as well as to benefit from the resources of the various sectors of the government.

Egypt has been familiar with war industry since the dawn of history. Its prosperity and progress have been connected to the strength of the regime in the country and its liberation from foreign pressures. That was clear in the era of Muhammad 'Ali, where a war industry arose in Egypt which had status, and the people of Egypt possessed Egyptian weapons made by their own hands. The Egyptian war industries ended when the colonial countries raced with one another to eliminate the Egyptian army, until the Palestine war of 1948 took place, and to prevent Egypt from obtaining war weapons, which compelled it to resort to arms dealers, who supplied it with ruined weapons.

As soon as it occurred, the 23 July revolution became aware of the need to manufacture Egyptian arms by Egyptian hands, because there would be no security for the nation unless there was insurance for the soldier on the battleground and his requirements were provided by his own country's

manufactures, so that his provisions would not be subject to foreign will in any form.

#### War Industries Are Integrated Industries

Since integration in the area of civilian industries is founded on commercial bases, it is easy to provide their requirements at any time. However, in the case of war industries, which are characterized by a specialized, monopolistic nature, the situation requires that those be guaranteed by the establishment of supply factories dealing with metals and chemical industries specializing in providing intermediary requirements in the form of ingots, wrought metal, and specialized chemicals in the form of explosives and propellants. Therefore, the nonferrous metal plant was established in 1954, then the iron ingot plant in 1958, and thus began the establishment of the modern war industry in Egypt.

Dr Jamal al-Sayyid added that industry does not just consist of materials that one buys or buildings that one erects -- more important than all that are human resources that are capable of mastering industry, its technical problems, its administration and the provision of its requirements, and are able to plan, develop and cope with changes. The war industry began with Western equipment and technical aid, and, following the Czech arms deal in 1955, the procurement of weapons shifted to the East. War factories started to shift to producing Eastern products and to obtain technical aid from Eastern countries to manufacture ammunition for Eastern weapons. The production lines and outfitting of equipment were modified. That was not confined to small and medium Eastern ammunition; rather, it was possible to produce heavy ammunition for which technical aid had not previously been obtained from the Western countries.

War production managed to respond to the armed forces' need for ammunition of various sizes, rifles, explosives, propellants, detection materials, flammables, defensive mines, explosive casings, and armor piercing weapons. In fact, it supplied some fraternal countries with some of their requirements.

Dr Jamal al-Sayyid said that the emergence of Egyptian war industries in the context of Western cooperation had many benefits, among them the fact that they were founded on modern principles, systems and planning which adopted the notion of modern industry and absorbed the resources of technology. Through cooperation with the Eastern bloc in the fifties and sixties, with the use of the industrial base that had been established, the war industries managed many achievements, most important of which were the production of machine guns and mortars, the construction of a plant for electronic industries, and in addition the construction of centers for preparing technicians.

The October war had the greatest effect in the government's attention to war industry, and it came to have a share in its plans, whereas it had been totally neglected.

A 5-year plan, for 1976-80, was prepared for it, and, by carrying it out, it has been possible to:

Replace and renovate capacity which had become delapidated and greatly exceeded its hypothetical life, operating for more than 25 years. From 1976 to now, about 87 million pounds have been spent on replacement and renovation.

Carry out expansions in intermediate ammunition capacity and the loading of heavy ammunition. The cost of these expansions comes to about 21 million pounds.

Construction of the project to produce rifles, which costs about 11 million pounds.

The construction of the heavy weapon, "cannon," project, at investment costs of about 102 million pounds, of which about 65.7 million pounds had been spent by 30 June 1981.

The establishment of a project to produce propellants for rockets and rocket engines at an investment cost of 65 million pounds, of which about 52.7 million pounds had been spent by June 1981.

Thus, as the minister of war production said, the seventies prepared the war factories for the transition to a new type of advanced strategic industry, the industry of heavy arms and propellants for rockets and rocket engines; thus the October war underlined the importance of local war industry in a manner whose effects were reflected on the renewed government attention to this base, which represents a real support for the armed forces and a deterrent army backing it up.

#### The Shift in Civilian Output

Why have war industries been oriented toward civilian production? Does this have an effect on war capacity?

Concerning war industries' contribution in the civilian arena, the minister of war production said, "Since the volume of requirements changes, rising and falling in accordance with the circumstances of war and peace, the exploitation of available capacities to produce for the society in times of decline in the armed forces' demand is considered to be an economic necessity, as well as a war necessity, since that is the optimum means for keeping production capacity in a state of permanent readiness to cope with emergency situations."

#### Examples of Civilian Production

The most important civilian products of war production now are:

Iron and nonferrous ingots and wrought materials of various forms, sizes and patterns, embodied in basic requirements for certain sectors such as the electricity sector, most particularly high tension cables and communications and insulated cables, or intermediaries for many industries.

Industrial explosives and intermediate chemicals for industrial detergents, paints, dyes, rubber products, particle board manufacture and operating rooms and anesthesia.

Paints, adhesives, metal powders, and rubber products required for industrial purposes.

Bodies and parts of motors from thin and thick plates, pistons, strips, manifolds and radiators.

Belt accessories for various uses, railway bolts and axle seats.

Workshop equipment in the form of lathes, drills, milling machines, eccentric presses, grinders, and wood saws.

Diesel engines and diesel units for pumping water, electric generation, welding, presses and sprinkling equipment.

Electric engines, water meters, and worn [sic] rotating meters.

Electric fans and refrigerators, television sets, dry batteries and electric appliances for the home.

Ovens, heaters, boilers, bottled butane cylinders and regulators, kerosene heaters, and fire extinguishers.

Sewing machines, meat grinders and table utensils.

Ovens for semiautomated bakeries.

#### Toward Expansion and Development

War production is also carrying out studies aimed at determining areas of expansion in these industries and developing what they are currently producing, along with the introduction of new products whether from the same family of original products or products which are being produced for the first time, within the limits of carefully studied stipulated policies based on putting war production sector capacity that is in excess of the armed forces' needs at the service of society.

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CSO: 4504/122

ENROLLMENT STATISTICS, EFFORTS TO UPGRADE EDUCATION SYSTEM DISCUSSED

Cairo AL-AHALI in Arabic 16 Nov 83 p 7

[Article by Dr Mustafa Kamal Hilmi: "The Right To Reply Is Safeguarded; Memorandum from the Minister of Education"]

[Text] We received this memorandum from Dr Mustafa Kamal Hilmi, minister of education, about the article that was published on 2 November under the title, "62 Percent of Students in Primary Schools Drop Out."

1. First, the information cited by the author contains a reference to the March 1980 study that was carried out jointly by the National Center for Educational Research and the IBRD. The author said that in the academic year 1973-1974 the drop-out rate from primary schools amounted to 29 percent for boys and to 33 percent for girls. It seems that the author was confused: he added the two forementioned percentages and concluded that the general dropout rate [that 62 percent], which is mentioned in the title of the article. The correct school drop-out rate [during that year] is 30.7 percent, as was mentioned in Schedule 17 on page 95 of the forementioned study. This is the study that was prepared by Mr Samir Louis under the supervision of Dr Yusuf Khalil and Professor, Dr Nadiyah Makari. The study was reviewed by Professor, Dr 'Abd-al-'Aziz al-Qusi.

2. The foregoing study, which was prepared by the National Center for Educational Research, indicates that drop-out rates from primary schools are continuing to decline. This pertains to students in the mandatory stages of education who enrolled in the first grade of primary school and who finished primary school since the fifties.

The evidence for this is as follows:

--The drop-out rate for the class that entered primary school in 1958-1959 amounted to 51.2 percent. This is evident in Schedule 17 on page 95 of the forementioned report.

--The drop-out rate for the class that entered primary school in 1973-1974 was 30.7 percent. This is evident in the previously mentioned schedule.

In rounding out the research that was recently conducted by the center and prepared by Mr Samir Lewis, general manager of the Statistics [Department] at the National Center for Research--the man who [also] participated in previous

studies--Mr Lewis concluded that the drop-out rate from primary schools fell to 15.1 percent for the class that entered primary school in 1977-1978.

I would like to make it clear that the continuing decline in the drop-out rate is due to several factors, among which are [the following]:

1. There is an increased awareness among students' parents. Parents believe in the value of education and in its effect on all social and economic aspects in their society. They appreciate the return of the education process, [and they understand] that education enables them to improve themselves and their environment.
2. The state has expanded educational opportunities equally in rural and urban areas. The Ministry of Education has taken measures, in light of what was indicated by educational profiles, to remedy some of the shortcomings in the distribution of educational service. The ministry established schools in areas where enrollment was below the general average nationwide.
3. Food has been provided in primary schools in Egypt's rural areas. Over 3 million children receive a meal [at school]; that is 66 percent of the total number of students enrolled in primary schools. The effect of that has been a lower rate of absenteeism among students at those schools. Students became more studious, and the drop-out rate declined 1 year after the other in accordance with the results of field studies and research conducted by the National Center for Educational Research in conjunction with the Public Department for Nutrition, the Ministry of Health and the World Food Program.

Second, the author mentioned in his article that a Ministry of Education report on developing and modernizing education in Egypt, which was published in July 1980, stated that in 1979-1980 the enrollment rate in primary schools amounted to 75 percent. Elsewhere in the same report it was stated that that rate was 83 percent. The author wondered which figure was he to believe. In response to that question, the ministry provides the following explanation:

1. The 75 percent that is mentioned in the report is that of the total number of students enrolled in primary schools to the total number of children in the 6 to 12 age group.
2. The 83 percent enrollment rate which was referred to elsewhere in the report refers to the ratio between the number of students admitted into the first primary grade and the total number of students in 1979-1980 who were old enough to be attending those grades of school that are mandatory. The two ratios are two different aspects [of primary education] and not one aspect. Accordingly, there is no contradiction in the presentation [of facts] made in the report.

Third, I wish to inform [readers] of the following regarding what was mentioned in the article about school buildings. School buildings were the responsibility of the Organization for School Buildings which used to turn over to the ministry 2 schools every 3 days.

1. Local authorities assume responsibility for building, furnishing and managing schools; this is in accordance with the Local Rule Act. The ministry plans the

policy for school buildings and tries to provide the appropriations for those buildings in accordance with the requirements of the stages of the educational process.

2. The sum of 510 million pounds has been included in the 5-Year Plan for the Ministry of Education as investments in school buildings and furnishings. Of this sum 75 million pounds have been earmarked for 1982-1983--and that is twice the allocation for 1980-1981; and the sum of 88 million pounds has been earmarked for investments in 1983-1984.

3. The number of schools that were turned over at the end of 1982-1983 amounted to 312: 168 primary schools; 86 preparatory schools; 12 general secondary schools; 43 technical secondary schools and teachers' institutes; and 3 private schools of education.

4. [A total of] 1,809 new rooms, equal to about 150 schools, have been turned over.

Thus the total number of schools and school units that have been turned over [to school authorities] during 1982-1983 amounted to 462 schools.

The ministry is continuously trying to improve the rate of expansion in school buildings in light of the plan's allocations and objectives.

Fourth, with regard to references that were made about developing school curricula:

Please take note of the fact that in its comprehensive effort to develop and modernize education the ministry is devoting attention to the development of curricula. The ministry is adopting a policy of forming joint committees that are made up of university professors, professors in colleges of education, [employees of] the National Center for Educational Research, intellectuals and educational specialists in the various disciplines.

For example, curricula for teachers' colleges have been developed, and the first class graduated from these colleges in 1982-1983. This developed plan [sic ?] is being evaluated at the present time.

Curricula for technical education have also been developed, and about 500 persons took part in that process. They are people employed in the production and services professions and in colleges of education, and they are specialists in the ministry. The first class will graduate from [these institutions of technical education] at the end of academic year 1983-1984. The developed curricula [for students attending] the first and second years [at these institutions] are being evaluated at the present time.

At the present time basic education curricula are being developed. [An announcement] was made last week that several committees had been formed to take part in that process. These committees will have about 85 members.

A number of syllabi taught in public secondary schools had already been developed in 1975-1976. This effort was spearheaded by a select group of university

professors and specialists. At the present time a review process is underway to complete the development of these syllabi.

All this is being done under the aegis of the new education law which was issued in 1981.

In this regard I would like to refer to a statement that was made in the report on the development and modernization of education which was issued in July 1980. We appreciate--and we have appreciated this from the beginning--the magnitude of the major national effort that we are about to undertake; it is a comprehensive and a profound effort that requires a scientific approach as well as objectivity and earnestness. The forementioned network of programs includes expanding pre-school education; reformulating curricula for primary and preparatory schools in the context of a basic education philosophy; extending the period of mandatory education to 9 years; implementing all this in about 13,000 schools; re-training primary school teachers--there are 140,000 of them--and bringing them up to the standard of university education; preparing technical education teachers at colleges of education and linking curricula there with labor market needs; developing curricula in public secondary schools; adopting modern methods of education and discipline; modernizing school management; and providing the buildings and the furnishings that are necessary for a wise educational process. None of this can be done overnight, particularly under conditions wherein certain methods and modes of instruction have become routine for scores of years.

The report indicated that implementation operations were being stepped up successively and these programs and plans were being developed until the main parts of these programs and plans are completed and Egypt can begin reaping the fruits of this major effort in the second half of the eighties.

The ministry welcomes every opinion that would support the improvement and modernization of education. [To that effect] it presented a working paper on educational reform, which was issued in 1979, to the various political parties and [the various] organizations and institutions that are concerned with education and its returns. They all took part in formulating an opinion on the educational reform and modernization process; that opinion took into consideration the conclusions drawn by the new education law.

We ask that you take note of this memorandum and that you issue instructions for its publication.

Please accept our due thanks.

[Signed]: Dr Mustafa Kamal Hilmi, deputy prime minister for services and minister of state for education and scientific research.

8592

CSO: 4504/123

CONTROVERSY OVER NEW DEAN OF TANTA UNIVERSITY'S COLLEGE OF EDUCATION REPORTED

Cairo AL-AHALI in Arabic 16 Nov 83 p 6

[Article: "Outcry at Tanta University"]

[Text] There is a college in Tanta University called the College of Education. It is presumed that educators graduate from this college, and [it is presumed that] these educators undertake the task of teaching and educating the new generation.

But there is an outcry now in the College of Education. The reason for that outcry is that its new dean, Dr Mahmud al-Sayyid Sultan, was appointed to his new position without merit. Moreover, the new dean is carrying out the duties of that position in violation of every law.

The problem is that corruption has become so widespread that not speaking out against it has become a crime. Every day the university of Lutfi al-Sayyid, Taha Husayn and Amin al-Khuli is losing all the particulars of being a university. Knowledge and research are no longer the basis for obtaining rank in it. [Rank at the university is] rather obtained through the mediation of influential people: one obtains rank when one is related to them and when one exchanges positions and benefits [with them].

These are the rules that were laid down in al-Sadat's administration when al-Sadat's wife, Jihan, became a "head-hunter" providing the regime with university professors. Dr Sufi Abu Talib was not the first of these professors; but will Kamil Laylah be the last?

The story of Mahmud Sultan began when he was an associate professor in the Department of Pedagogy at the College of Education, 'Ayn Shams University. He held that position till 1975 when he was commissioned to work at Umm al-Qura University in Saudi Arabia. When his commission expired on 30 August 1979, Dr Sultan did not return to work in Egypt; he preferred to stay in Saudi Arabia. Therefore, on 1 December of the same year the president of 'Ayn Shams University issued a decree terminating his employment at the university as of 1 September 1979.

When Dr Sultan came back to Egypt in the early part of the past academic year, he tried to go back to work at the College of Education of 'Ayn Shams University from which he had been fired. His efforts, however, were futile. He contacted Dr

Ibrahim 'Ismat Mutawi', at that time the dean of the College of Education at Tanta University. The relationship between the two men was an old one, and it went back to the time when Dr Sultan was in Saudi Arabia. Dr Sultan contacted Dr Mutawi' so [the latter] can make it easy for him to succeed him as dean of the college since Dr Mutawi' was approaching retirement. After placing in AL-JUMHURIYAH an advertisement tailored to Dr Sultan that the college needed a professor, Dr Sultan, an associate professor at that time, was the only applicant for the position. His application was accepted under the pretext that the college would forward his research to the Scientific Review Board at the Supreme Council for Universities so he would be promoted professor. Dr Sultan was [then] actually appointed professor at the College of Education in Tanta University. At the same time he was also appointed deputy dean for graduate studies and research, stepping over many faculty members whose contributions to the growth of the college [had been considerable]. Those faculty members had preferred this sacred mission [at the college] to that of accumulating oil funds.

#### "Dr Sultan Is Very Poor [Academically]"

On 7 July 1982 Dr Sultan's papers and academic research were sent to the permanent Scientific Committee for Pedagogy and Educational Psychology [which reviews applications] for professors' positions. The board examined the research that was submitted, and it sent its report to Tanta University on 14 November of the same year. The board's evaluation of all this research was between very poor and poor.

Among the statements that were made by the committee about Dr Sultan's research was one describing a research paper [entitled], "Al-Nazariyah al-Tarbawiyah fi al-Islam" [Pedagogical Theory in Islam] as "a theoretical piece of writing that is not based on scientific evidence." According to the committee the study was a poor one. The committee described Dr Sultan's study [entitled], "Dirasat fi al-Tarbiyah wa al-Mujtama'" [Studies in Education and Society] as "a piece of writing that in no way and by no standard of measurement rises to that of being scientific. In addition, the author made mistakes regarding the references [he used], and this is unforgivable in a teacher of education, not to mention an applicant for the position of professor." The committee's evaluation of that study--before it was falsified--was also poor. This is what the committee said about the study, "Al-Madmun al-Tarbawi li Mafhum al-'Amal fi al-Islam" [The Pedagogical Content of the Notion of Work in Islam]: "An undocumented, declamatory piece of writing." Its evaluation of that study--before it was falsified--was poor.

The committee concluded in its report that the scientific work of Dr Sultan, who had applied for the position of professor of the Principles of Pedagogy at the Department of the Principles of Pedagogy in the College of Education of Tanta University, was not up to the standard [required] for promotion to that position by any measure for examining scientific work. The committee reached that conclusion after discussing the three reports that were submitted by the Scientific Review Board.

#### Violating the Law

Although this committee's report is final and universities are bound by it--Article 75 of Law No 49 for 1972 regarding the organization of universities

stipulates that "If it is determined that an applicant for a position or an academic title is not qualified for same, that applicant may not re-apply for a comparable position before 1 year elapses from the date he was determined to be unqualified for that position and provided new scientific research is submitted"--Dr Sultan filed an appeal last January, that is, only 1 month after that decision was made. He submitted his appeal to Dr 'Abd-al-Hayy Mashhur, who was then president of Tanta University, and he complained about the committee's decision. It was through 'Abd-al-Rahman Muhammad Hasan, director of the office of the president of the university and a relative of Dr Sultan, and with the consent of Dr Mutawi', former dean of the College of Education of Tanta University that the appeal was turned over to the latter who nominated Dr Abu al-Futuh Radwan, member of the board of the College of Education of Tanta University, sole arbitrator to re-examine Dr Sultan's scientific work which had been rejected by the permanent Scientific Review Board, whose decisions are final. The Scientific Review Board is the body that has the actual authorization to make decisions in this regard. Furthermore, this action violates Article 74 of the forementioned law which stipulates that "If the report of the Scientific Review Board is not submitted within a maximum of 2 months, the president of the university may convene and chair a meeting of the tardy committee to find out the reasons for the delay, or he may present the matter to the university board which may then decide to relieve the Permanent Scientific Committee of the task of examining the research [in question] and assign that task to a special committee it forms. That committee is to consist of at least five members who meet the conditions spelled out in Article 73 [of the law]. Said committee members must have spent at least 5 years in the position of professor."

Nevertheless, Dr Mashhur, president of the university, agreed to have Dr Abu al-Futuh serve as sole arbitrator. Dr Abu al-Futuh produced a report on Dr Sultan's scientific research. That report, which was written in only 15 days, stated that the studies qualified the applicant for promotion to the rank of professor. On 28 February 1983 Dr Sultan was appointed professor.

#### A Dean in 6 Months

Dr Mutawi', former dean of the College of Education, was a member of the three-man committee that considered the promotion. Although his evaluation of all of Dr Sultan's studies was excellent or very good, the two other professors who were members of that committee evaluated those studies poor and very poor. What a difference between the two evaluations!

What is even more serious is the fact that Dr Mutawi', former dean of the College of Education, obviously altered the committee's evaluations. He crossed out the evaluation "very poor" and wrote in its place "satisfactory." This alteration is evident in nine studies. What is even more curious is that all this culminated in the appointment of Dr Sultan dean of the College of Education! Dr Sultan was appointed to that position on 1 August 1983, that is, 6 months after he was appointed professor at the college.

The Scientific Review Board, which examines the [academic] works of professors, strongly objected to the fact that Tanta University had countermanded its decisions, which are binding. The board sent the minister of education a telegram to that effect. The Scientific Review Board declared it would strike, and it

refrained from performing its functions for a long time, but to no avail. That may have been because the perpetrator of all these violations was Dr 'Abd-al-Hayy Mashhur, who was then president of the university. Dr Mashhur is the brother of Mashhur Ahmad Mashhur, president of the Suez Canal Authority and one of the leading figures of the ruling party. The Supreme Council of Universities did nothing more than send a bulletin [requesting] that universities abide by the decisions of the Scientific Review Board "in the future."

Professors of education and educational psychology boycotted departmental meetings at the college over which an illegitimate dean was presiding. They refused to lecture in the graduate program, and there was a clash between the dean and the faculty at the first meeting he convened to inform them in a commanding tone that the president of the university had given him a free hand to regulate operations at this "loosely run" college. He did not find it disconcerting to talk about the sanctity of the university and the need [for faculty members] not to assail each other over material and personal interests!

Dean Sultan began trying to force faculty members in the Department of the Principles of Pedagogy which he chairs to teach no other books but his books. When that was rejected, he began threatening some faculty members [that he would report them to] the police because as he said, "They were communists whose ideas would be dangerous to students!" That threat was directed in particular against the staunchest opponents of his transgressions, Dr Shibil Badran and Dr 'Isam Ahmad. Faculty members met with Dr Kamal al-'Aqqad, the university's current president, [to ask that something be done] to put an end to the dean's dictatorship. But that effort was also futile even though faculty members did indicate in a memorandum to the president of the university that the dean's practices violated regulations. [Faculty members charged in that memorandum] that the dean was getting assistance from state security investigation [in his efforts] to intimidate faculty members. [The memorandum explained that] the dean held meetings in his office at the college with Usamah al-Marasi, a state security investigations officer, to turn him against those members of the department whom he described as communists.

This is a sample of the joint "academic effort" of the dean and the investigations officer.

#### Sultan's Decrees

--Ahmad Khadr, secretary of the college, was transferred to the university's administration because he objected to decisions that the dean tried to issue. These decisions involved administrative violations.

--Muhammad Hijazi, the dean's secretary, who had in his possession all the forged papers which had to do with the appointment of the dean professor and then dean, was transferred to the administration of the university. Hijazi was transferred because he had tried to explain to the former dean the extent to which these measures violated the Universities Organization Act.

--Dr Muhammad 'Abd-al-Dhahir al-Tayyib, associate professor at the college, was relieved of his duties as acting head of the Psychology Department because he was exercising his normal right to debate and to express his opinion at [the

meetings of] the college board. This was done despite the fact that the legal term for his appointment to that position, which is 3 years, had not expired.

--Because of the rather recent "bad blood" between him and the review board [which determines] the promotion of professors, the dean objected to that board's report on the promotion of Dr Sa'd Shalabi, chairman of the Linguistics Department at the college, and to the report on Dr 'Abd-al-Ghaffar Muhammad Husayn, chairman of the Social Studies Department. [The board had approved their promotion] to the position of professor. But the dean returned the board's reports even though such an action violated the Universities Organization Act and its executive decree. The dean's action also violated a decision of the Supreme Council of Universities. The reason for the dean's action was the fact that Dr Sa'd Shalabi had objected to the dean's request that he [i.e., the dean] be authorized to act on behalf of the college board in all areas where the college board is authorized to act. This happened at the first meeting of the college board that was chaired by the new dean.

In return, Dean Sultan began to curry favor with other faculty members. He appointed Dr 'Awatif Ibrahim deputy dean of the college for graduate studies, and he appointed Dr Siham Badr chairman of the physical education branch. In fact, he interceded with the College of Arts of Tanta University, and the college commissioned Dr Siham, who is a specialist in physical education, to teach educational psychology to students of the College of Arts.

#### A Special Examination

The new dean had to return the favor to his relative, 'Abd-al-Rahman Hasan, director of the office of the president of the university. Mr Hasan had played a major role in Dr Sultan's appointment by using "his special technique" in presenting to the president of the university the papers regarding the promotion of his relative, the dean. How did the dean return the favor?

'Abd-al-Rahman Hasan's daughter is an employee of the College of Education and also a graduate student at the college--a candidate for a special diploma. Mr Hasan's daughter had taken an oral examination in the Principles of Pedagogy, and had been examined with the rest of the students by a panel of three professors who teach that subject at the college. Her relative, the dean, requested [the students'] grade charts, and he noticed that the young woman's grades were low and that she may fail. So he decided that another examination would be held for his relative and for a few favored college employees who are also graduate students. [These were people] like Mirvat al-Ghandur, the head of the college's accounting department; and Ahmad Hasan al-Khadri, the secretary of the deputy dean of the college. The dean issued a handwritten decision to that effect, [and the list of students who were to be re-examined] was headed by [the name of] his relative, 'Azzah 'Abd-al-Rahman Hasan.

That measure infuriated the rest of the unfortunate students as well as those professors who teach that subject at the college. They protested the decision which they considered insulting to them. Furthermore, it violated the law. The matter went all the way to the president of the university, Dr Kamal al-'Aqqad, who decided that all the students were to be re-examined by a neutral committee.

Now then, is it possible to think that such matters can go on at one of the highest institutions of learning in our country? Can faculty members function in this "stifling and polluted climate?" Is the notion of the university's independence restricted to the practice of a few people having a free hand to act without due regard for the laws or for Egypt's ancient academic traditions? Will the school of academic falsification, which was able to produce a well-known engineer by cheating and appoint a professor and dean by violating the law, succeed in doing away with all the democratic heritage of the Egyptian university? It was that democratic heritage which produced [men like] Lutfi al-Sayyid, Taha Husayn and others [like them]. Whose school will ultimately win a victory: that of Taha Husayn or that of Sufi [Abu Talib]? Gentlemen, we are awaiting your answer!

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## EXTERNAL THREATS TO SUDANESE SECURITY ASSESSED

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic No 199, 3-9 Dec 83 pp 22, 23

[Article by Nadim Nasir, Muhammad Ahmad Hisham and James (Mill), British Expert on African Affairs: "A Report from Khartoum, Cairo and London; the Story of Ethiopian Troops Amassed on the Sudanese Borders"]

[Text] Sudan's vice president says, "The aim of the plan is to set up a separatist government of outlaws."

Last week the government of Sudan accused Ethiopia of amassing troops on the borders between the two countries. These troops were said to consist of 1,000 Ethiopian soldiers backed by 150 Cuban soldiers. [The government of Sudan accused Ethiopia] of supporting the operations of Sudanese rebels in the south. These rebels call themselves the Popular Army for the Liberation of Sudan, but the Sudanese call them outlaws. Ethiopia denied there were any troops amassed on the borders or that it had anything to do with the military operations that had been carried out by the outlaws. Ethiopia also denied having anything to do with the kidnapping of 11 foreigners who were subsequently released a few days later. Although the military operations have been ended and calm has been restored on the borders, Sudanese authorities consider what happened an indication of the dangerous situation on the borders. Egypt, which has a mutual defense treaty with Sudan and a charter for the merger of the two countries, is concerned about containing the situation as soon as possible so that an outbreak would not lead to the collapse of the conference it is preparing to convene for the countries of the Nile Valley Basin. The countries meeting at that conference are to come to an agreement on sharing the waters of the Nile. Our correspondent in Cairo who took part in this report [Muhammad Ahmad Hisham] concluded that Egypt's action indicated that Egypt was no longer giving absolute priority to security questions over economic questions. But western experts on African affairs do not think that current tensions on the Ethiopian-Sudanese borders constitute anything more than political moves made on a regional chess board. They think these moves are justified by several local and foreign factors whose roots go back to the days of British colonialism in Sudan.

To simplify the complexities of the Sudanese-Ethiopian relationship, which has been characterized by successive periods of stability and tension ever since the departure of British colonialists from Sudan, one must look at that relationship from two different perspectives. The first perspective on that relationship is one which views it from the premise that the two neighboring African nations are

suffering from the presence of separatist movements within their borders. On the one hand, Ethiopia is being subjected to a civil war in Eritrea where ethnic Arabs or people of Arab origin are dominant. And Sudan has been suffering since the fifties from the hardships of separatist movements in the south. The seed for those separatist movements was planted by British colonialists before their departure. British colonialists created a psychological barrier between the Arab north and the black south by concentrating economic development [efforts] in the north and ignoring the south, thereby magnifying the barriers of race and religion. To magnify those barriers even further, Christian missionaries were allowed to proselytize in south Sudan to convert the blacks of south Sudan to Christianity before news of Islam reached them. The rebellion of individuals in black south Sudan, which is Christian and pagan, was thus not curious. Most people in south Sudan are pagan, and they believe in animism. They rebelled against what they considered to be domination by the Muslim north. Rebellious actions in the jungles of south Sudan continued. These actions were led by the rebel, (Anyanya) whose name is used occasionally to refer to the rebel movement. The rebel actions continued till 1972 when an agreement known as the Addis Ababa Agreement was reached. According to this agreement south Sudan got something close to autonomy.

During that time the Eritrean Revolution had broken out [in Eritrea], which is still trying to get its independence from Ethiopia. Naturally, the Eritrean Revolution received support from several Arab countries that regard Eritrea part of the Arab homeland. Because of its geographical location and its Arab orientation Sudan was the staging ground from which Arab aid was directed to the Eritrean rebels. Sudan was also the country where thousands of Eritrean civilians sought refuge as they fled from extermination by Ethiopians. There are now close to half a million Eritrean refugees in Sudan. To get back at Sudan the Addis Ababa government has been supporting the Sudanese rebels in the south ever since the days of Haile Selassie. It has applied constant pressure on the government in Khartoum to make it stop its assistance to the [Eritrean] rebels, cut the supply lines to them and prevent them from using Sudanese territory as a staging ground [for their operations]. In May 1982 the two countries agreed that they would improve their relations with each other. However, no concrete progress was made in these relations in the way that both parties had hoped for. This was due in particular to the complications of the Eritrean question. Although President Numayri's government continued to adhere to the declared agreement and although it forbade public Eritrean activity in Sudan, the length of the borders between the two countries--1,302 kilometers--and the profound historical [ties] of the Eritrean presence in Sudan made the task of banning the actions of the Eritrean fronts extremely difficult. Ethiopia had proposed that Sudan turn over to it the leaders of the Eritrean liberation movements in return for Ethiopia turning over to Sudan the leaders of the Sudanese rebels in the south. But Khartoum turned down that offer. Maj Gen Muhammad al-Tayyib, first vice president of Sudan and chief of the State Security Agency assured AL-MAJALLAH's correspondent in Khartoum that the Eritrean question had both a negative and a positive effect on relations with Ethiopia. As James Mill, British expert on African affairs, told us, among these effects are those that have to do with the Arab positions on the Eritrean question which Sudan cannot contravene. The Arab League, for example, considers the Eritrean question an Arab question. It even invited representatives of the Eritrean liberation movements to attend its meetings as observers, even though it does not advertise their presence so as not to create problems with the Organization of African Unity.

The second perspective from which the Sudanese-Ethiopian dispute must be viewed is that of the affiliation the two countries have with two ideologically different camps, each of which is trying to dominate and exploit the country. Sudan is inclined to favor the western camp. It is one of the countries receiving massive U.S. aid--200 million dollars a year. Sudan had agreed to allow the United States to use its territory when necessary for the activities of the U.S. rapid deployment force. Ethiopia, however, even though it is not a Marxist-Leninist country in the strict sense of the term, is a socialist country that has close ties with the Soviet Union. These ties are defined in the terms of a friendship and cooperation agreement between the two countries. However, Sudan's fears doubled when Ethiopia signed a mutual defense agreement with Libya and South Yemen; that agreement was signed in Aden in August 1981. It seemed that Ethiopia was determined to confront the countries that had promised to provide military facilities to the United States. Therefore Sudan continued its efforts to strengthen its relations with Egypt under the terms of the mutual defense agreement between the two countries, particularly after Ethiopia sided publicly with Libya, a country which Sudan regards as one "that acts on orders from the Soviet Union."

Sudan also received military aid from the United States worth 100 million dollars. That aid package included M-60 tanks, armored personnel carriers and F-5-I airplanes. On that basis Sudan considers itself to be a country facing communist expansion in the area. It sees Ethiopia as working with Libya and the Soviet Union and playing a part in carrying out a plan whose target is the unity of Sudanese territory. This plan would be implemented by encouraging and supporting the separatists. Confidential information that AL-MAJALLAH derived from Maj Gen 'Umar Muhammad al-Tayyib, first vice president of Sudan, indicates that the aim of that plan was to separate the area of al-Nasir-Akubar-Malwal in the province of Bahr al-Ghazal and set up a separatist government there that would be the base from which the actions of the outlaws would be launched. Maj Gen 'Umar linked these recent events and the activities of the Sudanese opposition abroad with the activities of Africans trained in several African capitals. These people had assembled in (Banghi) for the purpose of getting stealthily into Khartoum to carry out sabotage operations. Although some observers believe that Sudan overreacted to these developments, the Khartoum government saw no way out but to focus on the situation in the south which, in the opinion of Maj Gen 'Umar Muhammad al-Tayyib, is the weak point in Sudan's national security and strategy. Khartoum believes that conditions are still likely to get worse. Although the first vice president of Sudan assured AL-MAJALLAH that the Sudanese government had no intention of striking the camps of the outlaws across the Ethiopian borders, the situation, according to our correspondent in Khartoum, may get worse in light of Sudan's insistence that Ethiopia dissociate itself [voluntarily] from the Soviet-Libyan plot against Sudan.

#### Reasons Why [Conditions] Are Deteriorating

Conditions in south Sudan had begun deteriorating dangerously since last May. Experts in African affairs attribute that to several factors.

--The division of south Sudan, which is semi-autonomous, into three parts was intended by Khartoum to simplify the administration of the province, but extremists in the south considered it an attempt to break up the unity of the south. Therefore, they regarded the 1972 Addis Ababa Agreement as null and void.

--The limited quantities of oil that are extracted from the south are refined in refineries in the north. There is a project to lay an oil pipeline to Port Sudan. Some southerners think that Khartoum is seizing the natural resources of the south, but Khartoum thinks that what is being done constitutes basic measures to confront the economic difficulties all over the country. There is also disgruntlement in the south about the irrigation canal project in whose construction Egypt is making a contribution.

--The Khartoum government follows a policy of sending army units made up of soldiers from the south into the north away from their relatives and their towns.

--Finally, the application of Islamic law in Sudan as of last September [has contributed to the deteriorating situation], even though the Sudanese government was careful about not imposing Islamic law on the non-Muslim south.

It was normal for Egyptian diplomats to devote their attention to the tense relations between Sudan and Ethiopia because of the special relationship that Egypt has with Sudan, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, because of the vested interest Egypt has in forestalling any deterioration in relations between the countries of the Nile basin. As soon as the crisis on the Sudanese-Ethiopian borders developed, Cairo began intense efforts to contain the situation. Cairo is extremely interested in bringing about an agreement between the countries of the Nile basin for the purpose of laying the groundwork for a conference of the leaders of these countries during which an agreement would be reached on sharing the waters of the Nile. Egyptian action in that direction was begun almost 2 years ago when Egypt succeeded in effecting a reconciliation, on the one hand, between Ethiopia and Somalia in their dispute over the Ogaden region and, on the other hand, between Ethiopia and Sudan. Egyptian authorities had been worried about the expected decline in the water level of the Nile as a result of water storage projects on the Blue Nile in Ethiopia. These projects are being carried out with Soviet aid that may be as great as that which was given to Egypt for the High Dam project. Hence stems Egypt's fear that the Ethiopian project may affect Egypt's share of the waters of the Nile, particularly since the aim of the 5-Year development plan [in Egypt] is to expand agricultural development projects. Therefore, Mr Butrus Ghali has been making plans since January 1982 for a meeting of the nine countries of the Nile basin for the purpose of coordinating their efforts with regard to any water storage projects that may affect the water shares of the other members of the group. It was on that basis that Egypt was striving to clear the air among the disputing countries. It was on that basis that Egypt carried out an immediate mediation effort between Sudan and Ethiopia right after the dispute between them flared up last week. It is evident that the special relationship between Egypt and Sudan, which is covered by the terms of the mutual defense agreement and the merger plans between the two countries, is placing Cairo in a precarious position. When AL-MAJALLAH contacted Dr Butrus Ghali and asked him about the method that Egyptian diplomacy was following in this situation, he said, "Egyptian diplomacy is striving to settle this problem and to prevent the situation between Sudan and Ethiopia from getting worse. We are communicating with both Khartoum and Addis Ababa to find prompt solutions to this crisis."

Dr Butrus Ghali also met twice with the Ethiopian ambassador in Cairo. During those meetings Dr Ghali was assured that the Addis Ababa government would not

escalate the situation with Sudan. Our correspondent in Cairo observes that Egypt's prompt action, which affirms Cairo's fear that the present tension between the two countries may affect a possible agreement about sharing the waters of the Nile, indicates that Egypt is no longer giving absolute priority to security questions at the expense of development and economic questions.

#### The Development of Tensions between Ethiopia and Sudan

1. The outlaws attacked Uwayl on 18 January 1983.
2. The uprising of the Bentu garrison was put down between 15 and 26 May 1983.
3. A number of foreigners were kidnapped and taken hostage in the area of Boma on 28 June 1983.
4. The Boma hostages were freed by a military operation on 9 July 1983.
5. Ethiopian airplanes penetrated Sudanese air space on 11 November 1983.
6. Ethiopian airplanes penetrated Sudan's air space over the area of Bokar on 12 November 1983.
7. Two British citizens were kidnapped in Jonglei on 15 November 1983.
8. French and Pakistani citizens were kidnapped on 15 November 1983.
9. There was an armed attack on the border [town of] Malwal on 17 November 1983.
10. The hostages were freed on 18 November 1983.

#### Economic Reasons

The economic factor may have been a principal factor in the recent escalation of tensions. Western experts in African affairs think that the economic factor is a definite factor among the reasons lying behind the tension, even though the other factors are the political moves that were being made on the chess board of the region. British expert James Mill believes that both countries have an interest in escalating the conflict so they can get more aid from the two super-powers. It's been noticed that the escalation took place while President Ja'far Numayri was visiting Washington. However, Mr Mill does not believe that President Numayri was seeking more financial aid only. No matter how generous the Americans are, that financial aid will not affect the health of the Sudanese economy. President Numayri was more interested in getting the United States to apply pressure on the IMF. Sudan's foreign debt has reached 7.8 billion dollars. Its foreign currency revenues depend on the export of one principal crop, which is cotton. At the present time the market for cotton is stagnant. Also the rate of monetary inflation in the country is between 40 and 60 percent a year. When IMF experts visited Khartoum recently, they left without coming to an agreement with the government of Sudan regarding rescheduling the country's foreign debt and offering the country more credit, even though the IMF delegation did notice the improvement in Sudan's balance of payments. This improvement is a result of the fact that cotton production has almost doubled. Cotton production in Sudan rose to 1.2 million bales of cotton a year.

James Mill says, "President Numayri was supposed to have tried during his visit to Washington to get not only more direct aid from Washington, but he was also supposed to try to persuade Washington to apply pressure on the IMF at a time when Congress was considering the U.S. contribution to the fund. The purpose of the U.S. pressure on the IMF was to get the fund to change its policy toward Sudan so that the economic pressures on that country can be alleviated. However, if President Numayri had considered the U.S. official position on that matter, which is that countries which owe money to the IMF have to endure austere economic changes, [he would have realized that his efforts in that regard would fail]. I do not believe that President Numayri achieved what he had hoped to achieve in that regard."

James Mill thinks that the U.S. failure to support the Sudanese economy by applying pressure on the IMF constitutes a contradiction in U.S. policy in the area. On the one hand U.S. policy sees Sudan as the most important ingredient in a regional security system. [On the other hand], it also sees Sudan as more important than Somalia and Kenya, which also provide military facilities for the rapid deployment force. It was evident from statements made by Reagan during Numayri's visit to Washington that the United States would stand beside Sudan in its opposition to Soviet and Libyan involvement in the area. James Mill thinks that this support for Sudan does not go beyond carrying out joint military exercises to warn Ethiopia and Libya. [Mill thinks this support does not go beyond being an exercise in] "gun-boat diplomacy." This moral support, however, will not solve Sudan's economic problems or help stabilize its financial situation. Nor will this moral support help Sudan put an end to the rebellion in the south or preserve the unity of the country. Instability in Sudan is not consistent with that country's strategic importance in East Africa.

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REACTIONS TO APPLICATION OF ISLAMIC LAW, ECONOMIC PROBLEMS DISCUSSED

Riyadh AL-JAZIRAH in Arabic 7 Dec 83 p 13

[Interview with Mr 'Isa Mustafa, the new Sudanese Ambassador to Saudi Arabia by 'Abd-al-'Aziz Muhammad al-Dabikhi: "Reactions to the Application of Islamic Law in Sudan; Kingdom Offered Sudan Every Aid and Assistance; We Are Asking Our Fellow Palestinians To Turn Their Weapons against the Enemy; It Is Expected That Oil Will Be Found in Sudan"]

[Text] AL-JAZIRAH interviewed Mr 'Isa Mustafa, Sudan's new ambassador to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. The ambassador dealt in the interview with relations between the kingdom and Sudan and reactions in Sudan and abroad to the application of Islamic law.

The ambassador spoke candidly about Sudan's problems and aspirations, and he spoke about contributions to the Sudanese economy that Sudanese citizens working abroad make. He also spoke about possibilities for finding oil in Sudan and about President Numayri's position on the tragedy that occurred in Lebanon. This was the tragedy that resulted in having fellow Palestinians fighting each other.

This is the text of the interview.

The Reason for the Visit

Question] Is there a specific reason for your visit to Riyadh?

[Answer] I came here and I had the honor of meeting with His Highness King Fahd ibn 'Abd-al-'Aziz, may God protect him. I met the king on the 25th of November, 3 days after I came to the kingdom.

As you know customs and conventions dictate that a new ambassador pay a courtesy call on some of their highnesses, the princes and on their excellencies the ministers.

Everyone made me feel most welcome.

The kingdom, may God reward it well, has always offered Sudan every aid and assistance in development where progress is now being made in Sudan. The kingdom by its nature does not publicize this assistance and these contributions. But the

kingdom does in fact offer us valuable and considerable assistance, and all the people of Sudan know this and appreciate it.

Regarding the Conference for the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Islamic Countries in Dacca

[Question] It is known that you will be going to Dacca to attend the conference for ministers of foreign affairs of Islamic countries. What are the subjects that Sudan will raise at that conference? (This interview took place before the ambassador's departure to Dacca).

[Answer] Actually there is the secretary general's report which will be presented to the assembly. It is understood this will cover questions about the Middle East and questions that are of interest to the Islamic world. There are also administrative questions that we will look into. Sudan always coordinates matters in this regard with the kingdom. We ask God that He grant all Muslims good fortune and success.

Relations between the Kingdom and Sudan

[Question] To what extent have relations between the kingdom and Sudan developed?

[Answer] This is in fact a good opportunity to talk about relations between the kingdom and Sudan. As you know, Sudan's relations with the fraternal kingdom began a long time ago when Islam and its roots, which go back in history, established a bond between us. As everyone knows, Sudan is a Muslim country. It is a peaceful country that shares all the kingdom's aspirations. We have always had a strong relationship with the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, and we ask God Almighty that these strong, fraternal relations continue and that the affection between the two peoples last forever.

Sudan after the Application of God's Law

[Question] You know that Sudan, thank God, began applying Islamic law some time ago. What was the reaction of the Sudanese people to that?

[Answer] Actually, the reactions fall into two [different] categories: the domestic reactions of the Sudanese people inside the country, and the reactions of the outside world in the Islamic, Arab and international world. We will talk about the reactions of the people of Sudan. Thank God, and I say this in all candor, that ever since President Ja'far Numayri made that announcement, the people of Sudan have been quite pleased and delighted. Even those people who had kept to themselves now go out into the streets and public places. Everyone is cheering with joy and satisfaction because Islamic law is being put into application.

I believe that every ruler who believes in his Islam, in his homeland and in his traditions would fearlessly do what President Numayri did. President Numayri's proclamation of the application of Islamic Law did not come out of the clear blue sky. His excellency, the president, had been paving the way for that before since he came to power. When the president made the announcement, he believed in what he did. Anyone who pursues the course of God is to do so without fear. As far as outside reactions are concerned, I believe that all the countries that love peace

and justice are extremely delighted with the application of Islamic law. But a few [other] countries--and I do not wish to name them--attacked Sudan viciously. They wondered how Sudan can dare to proclaim the application of Islamic law in a country that was colonized by the British for 70 years! The British in Sudan had fought Islam so fiercely that Islam in south Sudan was not permitted, and residents of north Sudan were not permitted to go into south Sudan. This went on until south Sudan became totally isolated [from the rest of the country]. But, thank God, Sudan is beginning to spread Islam and to put it into action. However, it is because Sudan has put Islam into action that everyone has agreed against it: Zionism is against Sudan; communism is against Sudan; and Christianity is to a certain extent against Sudan.

[Question] Are there some parts of Sudan that are exempted from the application of Islamic law?

[Answer] When application of Islamic law is proclaimed, it is proclaimed as is and it is applied to everyone. But in Sudan we have a Christian minority in the south. We protect our fellow citizens in the south, and we protect their rites of worship, their laws and their customs. God Almighty said, "You have your own religion, and I have mine" [al-Kafirun: 6].

#### Sudan and the Rebels

[Question] Some areas of Sudan, particularly in the south, have been subjected to rebel attacks. Are there African countries backing those attacks, and what are the reasons for those attacks?

[Answer] Let's be quite candid about this, for no one can solve his problems without probing and discussing those problems in depth. The geographical nature of Sudan is such that the country has seven neighbors. Some of these countries are not in agreement with us. Let's take Ethiopia, for example. Sudan did a great deal and exerted considerable effort to effect a reconciliation with this country. Ethiopia's president visited Sudan, and relations between us and Ethiopia improved considerably. But these relations changed suddenly when the Ethiopians began recruiting a number of southerners [for military training] inside the borders of Ethiopia. [For that purpose] Libya was providing them with weapons. This was confirmed to us by some of the outlaws who were captured and taken prisoners. They were paid money and given weapons to stir up disturbances in Sudan.

Sudan is now going through a new phase: implementation has begun on numerous significant economic projects, [such as that of] the Jonglei Canal in south Sudan. Thank God, we also found oil, and we began construction of an oil pipeline from central, south and west Sudan to the Red Sea. Returns from all this will be good and beneficial for the country. Communism will have no way for penetrating Sudan, nor will the conspiracies that are being contrived against Sudan [succeed]. We have made many attempts to effect a reconciliation with Libya, but unfortunately, Libya did not help us and did not do anything. Instead, Libya invaded Sudan, which is a Muslim and a peaceful country. Instead of exporting good and useful things to Sudan, Libya exported weapons. In this case Sudan had to defend itself. We did not initiate an attack against anyone; but we are defending our country. This is one of our rights, and it is a right that is guaranteed

to everyone. Everyone knows that the outlaws kidnapped seven French citizens, two British citizens and two Pakistanis. The people's armed forces were able to free [those kidnapped victims after] a violent battle was fought during which more than 600 persons were killed and wounded. The rest fled into Ethiopian territory, and we are now in full control of the border [areas]. Of course the outlaws will not give in to despair, and they will try to provoke an attack once again, but the Sudanese forces will be lying in wait for them.

#### With Palestinian Rights

[Question] You know about the ongoing dissension in the ranks of the PLO. What does Sudan think of that dissension?

[Answer] The ongoing infighting among Palestinians is hurting and breaking the heart of every Muslim and every Arab. We never expected Palestinians or the freedom fighters on the front to turn their weapons against their fellow fighters. This is a disaster. Sudan sides with Palestinian rights, and it fully supports those rights in all circumstances and in the most critical times. Sudan did receive large numbers of our fellow Palestinians when they left Lebanon. Sudan did not stand by idly: it has quite vigorously condemned this dissension. We hope Palestinian differences will be brought to an end and everyone will turn his attention to fighting the Israeli enemy.

#### The Expatriate Tax

[Question] Fellow Sudanese [citizens] are wondering about the expatriate tax. Does the Sudanese government intend to abolish that tax or to replace it with another tax?

[Answer] This question is, of course, one that interests any Sudanese citizen working outside Sudan. When I met yesterday with the Sudanese community [here in Saudi Arabia], a question similar to that one was raised. Actually, this is what I would like to tell my fellow citizens: "Your country, as you know, is a poor country that needs your help, even a little help. You are citizens of Sudan, and the interests of your country are important to you." Some of the Sudanese citizens who work in the kingdom are workers, manufacturers, engineers, physicians, and so on. Thank God, they are all ambassadors for us in the kingdom. The matter of the tax--and we call it a blood tax or a home country tax.... [Anyway], we are now in the process of raising this tax, God willing, so that Sudanese citizens working abroad can contribute to the development and prosperity of their country. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, may God reward it well, has given us a great deal in all areas. Funds that will be taken from Sudanese citizens will be [invested] in development projects that will benefit those citizens and their children. This small tax is the least that can be done by a person to serve his country. God willing, when oil is found in our country, we will abolish this tax.

#### Exemptions from Customs Fees

[Question] Will fellow Sudanese citizens returning to Sudan from abroad be exempted again from customs fees?

[Answer] I would like to assure everybody that we are now in the process of considering the most beneficial means [for our citizens]. In that context we are considering the reinstatement of customs fees exemptions which were granted to Sudanese citizens returning from abroad. The government of Sudan has also decided to grant every citizen of Sudan a permit to bring an automobile into Sudan provided that he is returning to Sudan to stay.

#### Oil in Sudan

[Question] As far as oil is concerned, what are the most recent oil discoveries in Sudan?

[Answer] There are conflicting statements about the possibility of finding oil in large quantities in Sudan. Optimists say that Sudan is floating on a lake of oil. We are one of those optimists. But there are others--and I am not saying they are pessimists--who say that the oil that can be found in Sudan is hardly enough for local consumption. But if we were to look at the matter carefully and with scrutiny, we would find that the companies that are looking for oil in Sudan at the present time are spending millions of dollars a day looking for the oil. Also the pipeline, whose construction agreement was signed, thank God, will be begun these days at a cost of 100 million dollars. This pipeline will carry the oil [from various parts of the country]. Does it make sense that these companies would pay all these sums of money when they are not confident that there is oil in commercial quantities?

Thus, there is oil in Sudan and in [significant] quantities. This is what the facts indicate. We ask God that this oil be used to develop agriculture in Sudan. We ask God that this oil not be used to turn us away from farming. [Actually] water is our fundamental oil in Sudan, and farming is our principal resource. We will, God willing, develop farming [in our country] with this oil.

#### Journalism in Saudi Arabia

[Question] Do you have one last statement you wish to make?

[Answer] Actually, I would like to thank all fellow Saudis in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia for the gracious welcome and the generosity that was extended to me. I pray God that the strong and solid relationship between the kingdom and Sudan continue.

I would also like to thank the newspaper, AL-JAZIRAH for giving me this opportunity. Everyone knows that the press plays a prominent and a major role in society. This is particularly true for the Saudi press which, compared with the world press, is considered to be advanced and advancing. This is undoubtedly a major achievement and a successful accomplishment for the Saudi press.

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CSO: 4504/133

## BANKS REDUCE CREDIT LINES TO BORROWERS

Kuwait KUWAIT TIMES in English 20 Dec 83 p 13

[Text]

BASEL, Dec. 19 (KUNA): Kuwait cut back its debts with international banks by 600 million dollars in the first half of this year, while the UAE borrowed another 700 million, the Bank for International Settlements (BIS) said in its latest report.

As many Opec members continued to face financial difficulties, Middle Eastern countries withdrew 16.4 billion dollars from their deposits with the reporting banks.

Saudi Arabia accounted for 10.2 billion of the total, and 3.3 billion was withdrawn by Middle East oil exporters for banks in the United States and US affiliates. The BIS also named Iraq, Iran and Libya as reducing their deposits.

Nigeria borrowed a further 700 million dollars, 500 million of it in short-term loans, while its unused credit commitments were reduced by 1.1 billion, according to the report published by the Central Bank.

Algeria managed to pay back 600 million in the first six months of the year, which was nearly equal to the increase in its unused credit facilities.

The world picture given by the BIS confirmed the brake put on new lending by the banks to countries outside the reporting area — mainly developing countries and Eastern Europe — and stepped up deposit withdrawals.

#### Lending

"Continuing debt-servicing problems, particularly in the developing world, and the resultant reluctance of banks to increase their exposure to problem debtor countries, a more cautious attitude to the international interbank market and the stagnation of international trade all contributed to this development," the BIS said.

#### Operations

New lending dropped to barely 10 billion dollars in the first half of 1983, compared with about 22 billion in the second half of 1982. The figure was only a third of the growth in lending seen during the first six months last year, and included the official operations launched for Brazil and Mexico.

Borrowing by Brazil and Mexico, at 3.7 billion dollars in the second half of 1983, accounted

for the whole of the banks' exposure to Latin America, the BIS reported. At the same time, Mexico succeeded in increasing its deposits by two billion, to 13.3 billion, and Venezuela and Chile each repaid 700 million of their debt.

#### Deposits

Developing countries in Asia borrowed only 2.4 billion, well below the 9.5 billion granted by the banks in the preceding six months. The main borrowers were Malaysia (1.3 billion), Indonesia (900 million), and the Philippines (800 million).

The BIS described China as "the top performer." Its deposits rose by 1.1 billion, exceeding its debts with the banks by almost 10 billion dollars, and its unused credit lines were nearly two and a half times as large as its banking debt.

Eastern Europe paid back a further 2.9 billion to the banks in the first half of the year. Since the start of 1982 East European debt had fallen by 10.3 billion dollars, the report said.

By contrast the Soviet Union borrowed 400 million, over 70 percent of it for up to one year.

## SHORT-TERM BANKING RATES UP

Kuwait KUWAIT TIMES in English 20 Dec 83 p 13

[Text]

SHORT-term banking rates on Kuwait's local financial market spiralled over the past week as a result of the Dec. 12 rash of bombs against the American and French embassies and Kuwaiti public utilities, according to the weekly report of the National Bank issued yesterday.

"Naturally the Kuwaiti dinar market has been affected by (last) Monday's events which pushed the rate for the day-to-day money transactions to nine percent from the four percent which ruled at the beginning of the week," the report said.

The bank said the Kuwaiti dinar weakened versus the dollar during the week with the dollar exchange at 293.30 fils instead of 292.80 fils which was the exchange rate

for the previous week. The Kuwaiti dinar is 1000 fils.

**Firmness**

The report attributed the dollar's firmness to the "political situation in the Middle East, a real rise in the US interest rates, and the economic recovery in the United States."

The Kuwaiti currency firmed against sterling, the Deutsche mark, the French franc and the Swiss franc, the report added.

The Kuwaiti dinar's exchange rate is decided according to the value of a basket of currencies which includes the dollar, the sterling, the Deutsche mark, the French franc and the Japanese yen. The rate is announced daily with very minor and rare fluctuations.

CSO: 4400/131

## BRIEFS

HOUSING PROBE DROPPED--Kuwait's National Assembly approved a parliamentary proposal to withdraw a request to question minister of Housing and Social Affairs and Labor 'Isa Hamad al-Rujayb and deferred another proposal to form a committee to investigate functions of closed companies founded in 1981 and 1982. Deputy Khalid Jamayhan who co-sponsored the proposal said the request was withdrawn because of the prevailing situation in the country and the deputies' concern to maintain cooperation between the executive and legislative authorities. The government has promised restrictions on the emergency allocation of government homes to people in urgent need who have been by-passing the housing waiting list. The House then discussed a proposal tabled by some deputies to set up a committee to inquire into the checks issued by the Small Investors Fund in connection with the Manakh crisis. Oil and Finance Minister Sheikh 'Ali Al Kalifa al-Athbi said the government objected to such a committee as it did not consent to anyone interfering in functions of specialized bodies. He said the government has prepared a file containing a list of all checks signed and paid by the Small Investors Fund to other parties. Sheikh 'Ali added that the file contains data requested by the deputies including copies of the checks. The deputies said that the proposed committee was not meant to undermine the specialized bodies but to inquire into alleged misuse of power. The House expressed satisfaction with the data provided by the government as an alternative to setting up the investigative committee. Deputy Speaker Ahmad Al Sa'dun who co-sponsored the proposal, however, said there will be no alternative but to re-table the proposal if the house needed more information on the subject. The House later approved a draft law tabled by Deputy Muhammad Habib to amend some provisions of the Civil Service Law. The Assembly rejected a proposal to discuss the recent decision of the Civil Service Diwan banning the employment of Kuwaiti students in government ministries and establishments. The House then discussed and approved a number of reports on final accounts of government ministries and establishments for fiscal year 1981-82. [Text] [Kuwait KUWAIT TIMES in English 21 Dec 83 p 4]

CSO: 4400/131

PROBLEMS IN MINISTRIES OF LABOR, HEALTH DISCUSSED

Beirut AL-SAFIR in Arabic 27 Dec 83 p 6

[Interview with Dr 'Adnan Maruwah, minister of Labor and Social Affairs by 'Adnan al-Haj: "An Interview about Issues in the Ministries of Labor and Health and the Problems of the Social Security Fund; Maruwah Says, 'There Is no Indicator for High Prices this Year; We Are Preparing a Study on Inflation' "]

[Text] New fixed prices for drugs to include about 5,000 registered varieties.

A dispute over the general manager suspended the search for a general manager for the National Office for Drugs.

The proposed trade union organizational plan was referred to the board at the request of the Federation of Labor.

The Ministry of Labor has not been able to come up with an indicator for the rise in the cost of living in 1983. Accordingly, the process of adjusting wages this year will be subject to a process in which labor indicators will be compared with employers' indicators. That will lead to disputes that will delay settlement of the question.

Despite the contradictions that usually occur between labor indicators and employers' indicators, the indicator of the General Federation of Labor is expected to exceed the 15 percent mark since prices for basic goods and materials rose significantly in the latter months of this year. At the same time preliminary statistics from the Chamber of Commerce and Industry in Beirut show that the chamber's indicator will be around 13 percent.

However, the question of figures remains debatable because the difference will rest basically on information leaked by employers about their unwillingness to consider any increase for this year because economic conditions are almost at a standstill and because there are marketing difficulties that are threatening to shut down plants and organizations.

The position of employers has been bolstered by the fact that the General Federation of Labor has not yet taken action, even though only a few days are left before the end of 1983. At the same time the first party is making preparations to ask for implementation of the Old Age Insurance Law in the social security

[system]. This would exempt employers, under the pretext of deteriorating economic conditions and difficult security conditions, from paying approximately 800 million pounds in settlements they have to pay their employees. In addition, there are premiums estimated to be worth millions of pounds that are about to lapse with the passage of time.

The Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs replaced the standardized cost of living indicator with a study on inflation which it charged a team of experts in the University of Lebanon to conduct. The ministry asked this team of experts to make the necessary proposals that would reduce inflation and curb rising prices.

This study will be the subject of discussion at the upcoming early meetings of the committee on the cost of living indicator. Dr 'Adnan Maruwah, minister of labor and social affairs affirmed that he would convene that committee soon so that the study on inflation that was done by the team of experts can be discussed.

In an interview with AL-SAFIR Maruwah said, "The rise in the cost of living was small in the beginning of this year. However, the rate of price increases rose significantly in the latter months of this year."

The minister touched upon the subject of financial balance in health and maternity insurance, emphasizing the need to raise maximum premiums from 750 pounds to 2,500 or 3,000 pounds a month in order to get rid of the deficit in that area. Deficits in health and maternity insurance are expected to exceed 45 million pounds by the end of this year.

The minister also spoke about the proposed trade union organizational plan. He mentioned that the decision to refer that plan to the Chamber of Deputies which then enacted it into law was done at the request of the General Federation of Labor. The General Federation of Labor wanted the draft bill to be discussed by the largest number of organizations.

The minister set forth the circumstances of the ministries of labor and public health and affirmed that the Ministry of Health had set forth a new set of fixed prices for about 5,000 varieties of registered drugs.

The minister said that the fixed price will be enforced as of the beginning of next year, and violators will be penalized by denying them the right to import drugs.

The minister indicated that there were 365 unlicensed pharmacies [in the country]. He affirmed that the ministry will license those pharmacies that are owned by pharmacists after their circumstances are settled and that it will close other pharmacies. The minister talked about conditions at the National Employment Organization, and he talked about the reasons why work there had come to a standstill. The minister talked about violations of drug prices, the status of trade unions in Lebanon and conditions at the National Social Security Fund. The text of the questions and answers follows:

[Question] You had formed a committee that was to set down a standardized cost of living indicator. We are now at the end of 1983. What has the committee done, and does the Ministry of Labor have its indicator for this year?

[Answer] The ministry did a study on inflation. We commissioned a task force of four economists to prepare that study. The committee was chaired by Dr Samir Nasr who worked with a team from the University of Lebanon. This committee was funded by funds that had been originally designated for the committee on the cost of living indicator. The study has been completed, and it is now being printed. It is somewhat oriented toward economic reality and the methods that must be adopted to confront these conditions.

At the same time we relied on the Department of Statistics in setting forth the cost of living indicator. We relied in particular on the only statistician in the country, Muhammad Balut who resigned recently [from the department]. Mr Balut's resignation is a major loss to us. However, employees of the Department of Statistics conducted a comprehensive survey of prices, but because of conditions, the committee on the cost of living indicator did not come up with its own indicator. The committee will [therefore] go back to relying on a comparison between labor indicators and employers' indicators. In addition, the committee will rely on those statistics that were completed by the Central Department of Statistics.

[Question] Some statistics indicate that by mid December prices had risen by about 15 percent. Are the figures of the Department of Statistics close to that figure?

[Answer] There was a period of time early this year when prices fell noticeably, but they rose again significantly, particularly in the second half of this year. This percentage was anticipated, particularly since the value of the pound had fallen significantly vis a vis some foreign currencies, not to mention the worsening economic condition.

[Question] Does this mean that the official committee on [the cost of living] indicator has come to a complete standstill?

[Answer] We will convene a meeting of the committee soon after the study on inflation that is being done by the ministry is completed. The discussions of the committee on the cost of living indicator will focus on this study.

[Question] Does this also mean that negotiations to correct wages will take a long time even though we are at the end of the year?

[Answer] Negotiations will begin either next February or next March. This date is normal compared with the dates of previous years.

[Question] Does the study on inflation include a [cost of living] indicator or does it deal with the rates at which prices are rising?

[Answer] The study includes measures for dealing with inflation, but it does not compare prices. This is because the team of experts did not investigate prices. Today, it is not necessary for us to append a [cost of living] indicator because it is the economic situation in the country that is forcing the state to adopt or implement a policy by means of which it deals with the question of inflation and, consequently, that of wages.

## Forced Lay-Offs

[Question] You drafted bill that had to do with settling conditions between workers and employers with regard to the forced lay-offs that resulted from Israel's invasion of Lebanon. What happened to this bill? Why has it not been passed?

[Answer] Events have shown that the fact that this bill did not pass was better because the sequence of security incidents emphasizes that finding remedies for similar circumstances is essential.

[Question] But there are situations due to business that are still pending, and these require legislation that would give workers their rights.

[Answer] The first action carried out by the ministry after the Israeli invasion was that of drafting the bill that would remedy the question of forced lay-offs. However, the Council of Ministers thought it should defer consideration of that matter because we cannot enact a law comprising all of Lebanon's security areas. [The council thought that] when conditions are such that we can have a law that would be implemented throughout Lebanon, we can then deal with such matters.

[Question] And how then will the questions that are pending between workers and employers be dealt with?

[Answer] They will be dealt with implicitly between workers and employers, particularly now that labor councils are functioning. This way when there is any dispute, an employee can get his rights.

## Labor Councils

[Question] This raises another subject: it is that of the paralysis which befell the arbitration labor councils where thousands of cases remain unsettled. What do you have to say about this state of paralysis?

[Answer] The arbitration labor councils have not come to a standstill in all areas. In Beirut the councils have been meeting daily. In B'abda the paralysis of these councils was the result of security incidents. Also because of security in the south as well as in the north these councils have stopped functioning recently.

The fact is that the councils have begun functioning; [their] quarters are now quite ready. The government's authorized agents in the labor councils have been keeping me informed of the results of [these councils'] activities.

[Question] Many questions have been brought to a standstill even in Beirut. Some of these questions have to do with social security claims that have not yet been settled. Do you have an idea how large these matters that have been brought to a standstill are?

[Answer] When labor councils begin looking into claims, they will have to look into the cases that have been piling up. Thousands of claims have been frozen since the incidents.

[Question] Don't you have an idea how many claims have accumulated?

[Answer] We know there are thousands of claims, but we do not know the specific number. I can affirm, however, that labor councils in Beirut are functioning. The government's authorized representative at these councils goes there daily, and I occasionally find out from him what the activities of these councils are. But what I do not know is the number of claims that are settled daily or the number of transactions that are being considered.

#### The Trade Union Organizational Plan

[Question] The trade union staff organizational plan bill was the subject of a lengthy dispute between the federation of labor and the ministry. Why did you turn this bill over to the Chamber of Deputies even though the General Federation of Labor was opposed to it?

[Answer] We referred the bill to the Council of Ministers first to pave the way for turning it over to the Chamber of Deputies upon the approval of the Council of Ministers. The fact of the matter is that we carried out the wishes of the General Federation, and we did not have the bill issued as a statute. We referred it to Chamber of Deputies for discussion as [potential] legislation.

It is my judgment that turning over this matter to the Chamber of Deputies in the form of a draft bill was the way to get it tabled because the subject of an organizational plan is an extensive and a large subject. There are many groups in the Chamber of Deputies that may oppose it, and other groups may ask that it be amended or approved. This is a matter that will require a long period of time, and that will inevitably lead to suspending its implementation. This would be truly regrettable because there are, for example, applications for the establishment of farmers' unions. But permits for farmers' unions cannot be issued according to the present labor law. This is because farmers do not have the right to have a union. Accordingly, the establishment of any union for farmers would violate the law. I informed applicants that I could not give them permits to establish unions as long as there was no trade union organizational plan.

[Question] But the new bill neither allows nor stipulates the establishment of unions for farmers. It abolished associations and replaced them with leagues.

[Answer] Today conditions in the trade union movement are not good. There are unions in name [only] in which no elections are held. Consequently, they have no members, and the president of the federation or chairman of the union is still the same person who has been in that position for scores of years. Such people will of course oppose the organizational plan. As far as we are concerned, we think that the organization of this sector is essential. The minister of labor may not continue to issue permits for trade unions on [the basis of his own] approval.

I am therefore calling for rules regulating such permits so I can tell any person [who asks whether or not] the law allows him to organize a union or prohibits him from doing that. At the present time unions are receiving 1,200,000 pounds in assistance without carrying out any activities. We want to know which union is offering its staff courses or training, because most of these funds are wasted.

Employers as well as the Federation of Labor opposed this organization. They opposed it as a group even though they supported it as individuals.

[Question] Where are the public sector's rights in the trade union organizational plan? Why was the public sector denied its right to unionize and why was it totally ignored in your bill?

[Answer] This subject was altogether disregarded. The Council of Ministers looked into it while it considered the Employees' Law. It turned out that there is an article in the Employees' Law which stipulates that public sector employees may not join political parties or take part in strikes and other activities. The fact that public sector employees are barred from such activities is the result of a political order. The Council of Ministers refused altogether to look into the subject of the public sector's right to organize unions. I would emphasize here that the question is one of political guidance that has to do with the state.

[Question] Don't you think that Law No 10 conflicts with trade union liberties and international labor agreements that regulate Lebanon's relationship with other countries?

[Answer] Statute No 10 is an emergency law enacted because of emergency conditions. A curfew also conflicts with individual liberties. For example, I cannot visit my brother at night. We hope that the reasons [for these emergencies] will go away, and we hope the law will be repealed and liberties and life will resume their previous course. The subject of liberties [cannot be dealt with in a vacuum]. What is required is that we look at this matter from a realistic perspective.

#### Social Security

[Question] The freedom from debt law in the social security system is being violated by the ministries of industry, oil and agriculture. The ministers of industry and agriculture suspended the implementation of that law in their ministries. What do you have to say about that? What have you done to safeguard the rights of the insured?

[Answer] The violations are obvious. We asked the board of directors of the National Social Security Fund to meet to investigate the matter, and we asked the ministers who had used administrative memoranda to suspend implementation of the law to refrain from such measures because they violate the law. The law may not be suspended by a memorandum, and the ministers pledged to us that they will not issue such memoranda in the future.

[Question] It's been learned that you are drafting a plan to extend [the period of time] that organizations have to pay back the debts they owe to the Social Security Fund. This comes after a recent law determined that debts which may be paid in installments are those that have been accumulating till the end of 1982. What is the purpose of that plan and what does it include?

[Answer] We are in the process of drafting such a plan in a manner that would prolong payments on debts that may be paid back in installments so that 1987

debts can be included. In other words, 1983 debts would be included with the debts that may be paid in installments. Accordingly, as of 1984, a statement of no indebtedness will be given to employers who make their payments regularly, provided they pay the previous years' debts in installments. I attended one of the meetings of the board of directors of the Social Security Fund. Employers' representatives requested that their installments be deferred because of the general economic conditions. We found it necessary to take factory and institution owners into consideration; they are being subjected to major losses and damages, and the least that we can do to help them is to make the installment process for them easier.

[Question] There is the question of a deficit in health and maternity insurance [programs]. What has the ministry done to improve conditions for that insurance program and to ensure that the insured will continue to receive services? [What has the ministry done] in light of the fact that the board has been dragging its feet about making any decisions? It is known that management sent a set of studies calling for an increase in maximum premiums so that the deficit can be eliminated. Does the ministry intend to deal with the subject directly without going back to the board of directors?

[Answer] This matter will be dealt with by persuasion. In light of increases in the cost of health care, wages and services, it is not reasonable that premiums have not been changed since 1964 when the insurance program was created. Accordingly, on the basis of social equality, a wage earner who earns 1,000 pounds a month would not pay the same premium [for health insurance] that the chairman of a board of directors, a president of a firm or a general manager of a bank would pay. At the present time the maximum premium is only 750 pounds a month, and everyone benefits from the same services. The figure of 750 pounds is not carved in stone. At that time that figure was set as a maximum for premiums because minimum wages were about 125 pounds. Today, the minimum wage is 1,100 pounds, and [the maximum premium] is now less than the minimum wage. Therefore, the premium must be linked with the minimum wage; it should be double that minimum wage, or somewhere in the neighborhood of 2,500 or 3,000 pounds. The maximum premium is to rise as the minimum wage rises.

We can thus ensure something of a balance between revenues, which are the premiums, and expenses, which consist of services.

[Question] Why wasn't the plan approved by the board of directors?

[Answer] Opposition to that matter on the board of directors comes from workers and employers because it will place new burdens on them.

[Question] What do you think about the proposal of getting a loan to settle the deficit, as the board of directors decided?

[Answer] A loan will not solve the problem of that program's conditions because a loan will have to be paid back. After a short period of time [funds acquired through] a loan will run out. What is required is a radical solution [to the problem], and that will have to be a decision or a position from the board of directors attempting to make plans for the future of the program. A monthly premium of 13 pounds is no longer realistic at the present time.

[Question] How can your ministry as a caretaker ministry deal with this matter, particularly since it is this caretaker ministry that is presenting to the Council of Ministers which plan the Social Security Fund wants to implement?

[Answer] We have been watching this matter on the board of directors, particularly since the board has neither been able to settle the matter nor make a decision. We sent a letter through the government's authorized representative on the board of directors, who is General Manager Hamid Khuri, urging the board to find a solution to this question and make a decision on it. [We urged the board] to take into account the interests of insurance, to establish balance between services and premiums and to prevent the occurrence of a deficit. We asked the board to assume its responsibility and make the proposals that are necessary [to correct the situation]. We also asked the board to furnish us with the measures [it plans to take] as soon as possible.

[Question] Do you have a draft bill for raising maximum premiums that you will refer to the Council of Ministers, thereby bypassing the board of directors?

[Answer] This is one of the steps we are considering, even though the law stipulates that it is the board of directors that terminates plans.

[Question] Why don't you amend the bylaws of the board of directors which usually stand in the way of implementing most of the fund's projects that are of interest to the insured, such as automation and others?

[Answer] We are hoping that the board of directors will take the measures [that are necessary] under present conditions to deal with matters. The question of amending the bylaws will come up in the next phase.

[Question] Why hasn't the matter regarding the general manager of the insurance program been settled yet, particularly since keeping the general manager under [formal] obligation [to perform the duties of that position] is preventing implementation of the general manager's views for reforming insurance conditions?

[Answer] As you see, hiring has been suspended because of security incidents. At the present time the Council of Ministers is concerned with political questions and some urgent routine matters. The insurance business is now being looked after by an acting general manager. This is an attempt to avoid having no one in that position, particularly since the departure of the previous general manager, Mr. Rida Bahig, was unexpected.

[Question] What is the present status of the National Organization for Employment?

[Answer] At the present time the organization is waiting for the new financial and administrative regulations for the Ministry of Labor, since the organization will be merged with the ministry. There are provisions of the ministry's new plan that have been carried out. These provisions, which will develop a modern ministry for the year 1981, will be sent to the Council of Ministers for that body's approval. The law that was recently issued, Law No. 131, provides for a 6-month period during which regulatory decrees can be issued. We are drafting these decrees as fast as we can so that the Employment Organization can function

within the Ministry of Labor, particularly since Law No 157 has brought the operations of the National Organization for Employment to a standstill. Enactment of that law caused the organization to lose the flexibility it had in providing vocational training and other [services].

#### Fixed Prices for Drugs

[Question] Among those fixed prices for drugs which have not been enforced since 1972 is a fixed price [list] which is being prepared by the ministry at this time. Has the ministry finished this [list of] fixed prices, and how will these fixed prices be enforced?

[Answer] We've decided to follow a new method to enforce compliance with the new fixed prices for drugs. We will make importers file with the ministry every 3 months a list of the drugs they import so that prices can be enforced in the light of costs and on the basis of invoices.

This method is being followed in Jordan where importers are responsible for setting prices in the light of real costs, and they are liable for violating those prices. Importers will have to submit periodically to the Ministry of Health a list of their drugs along with prices. It is the Ministry of Health that monitors compliance, determines violations and takes the measures [that are necessary] to enforce penalties. This method spares the ministry much work.

We have now acquired from the World Health Organization a computer for the ministry. It will be placed at the disposal of the planning unit. This automation process will save a great deal. Prices will be stored in the computer, and it will be easy to enter new varieties of drugs [into the computer's memory bank] and refer to old prices when the price of any drug has to be changed. It will also be easy to register different varieties of drugs and to trace the source of a drug as well as its agent. It follows then that the pricing process will become quite ordinary.

[Question] How many drugs are comprised in the new list of fixed prices?

[Answer] Between 4,500 and 5,000 drugs. Of course, most of these drugs are registered. We hope to begin pricing the drugs that are on the market eventually, and the number of those drugs exceeds by far the number of drugs that are already priced and are on the current price list. All drugs then will have to be registered, and the conditions of the drug market, in so far as quality is concerned, will be regulated.

[Question] It is known that the fixed price for drugs has not been enforced in Lebanon since 1972. What are the reasons that have so far prevented such enforcement?

[Answer] The fact of the matter is that it is the lack of security that is interfering with regulating the drug market, at least at the present stage. The administration is not able to inspect pharmacies because there are pharmacies in areas where inspection would be difficult.

[Question] But price violations are being committed daily by importers who are changing prices every day. What is the ministry doing about that?

[Answer] First of all, there are noticeable increases in currency prices, and these affect the drug market. This is not to deny the fact that prices are being exploited, but the fact of the matter is that some drugs do disappear from the market, and importers have to import them through Larnaca, assuming thereby the burdens of additional cost. It has therefore been difficult to proclaim pricing decisions because additional burdens have actually been added to [total] costs. Not all import operations, of course, are completed through Larnaca, but part of this question may be justified because of [these] circumstances.

Today, however, regarding the drugs that have been priced, when we establish that the price has been violated by the importer or by the pharmacy, we will make an effort to stop that importer or pharmacy from importing drugs, and we will try to prohibit the importer's or the pharmacy's agent from carrying out any import operations since the approval of the professional committee in the Ministry of Health is required for the importation of any drug. Today violators are turned over to the public prosecutor, but that in most cases does not deter violators because most penalties are light: between 50 and 100 pounds and even 1,000 pounds. It is this that makes importers and pharmacists commit more violations in the area of raising prices and concealing drugs.

#### Cooperative Pharmacies

[Question] What is being done about the question of licensing cooperative pharmacies, and what is the ministry's attitude toward these pharmacies?

[Answer] Cooperative pharmacies actually depend on the new pharmacy law. We tried to have a statute issued to that effect, but the statute was not issued because controversy developed around it in the Council of Ministers. A legal controversy also developed around the pharmacy law, and the subsequent consensus was to send that legislation to the Chamber of Deputies. This will be done soon. It is the text that the Chamber of Deputies will approve that will determine the future of cooperative pharmacies.

To that effect cooperative pharmacies violate the present Pharmacy Law which contains an article stating that a pharmacy must be owned by a pharmacist. In cooperative pharmacies, pharmacists are employees.

[Question] But in most cases and in most pharmacies that do business in Lebanon pharmacists are employees!

[Answer] Pharmacies should at least be named after a pharmacist, and a pharmacist must be on the premises. This is not what happens at cooperative pharmacies.

[Question] A number of ministry inspectors did "sell" their certification to some pharmacies. [didn't they]?

[Answer] That was in the past. Today, however, all these matters have been done away with, at least with regard to the ministry's inspectors.

[Question] Did you include in the new bill an article about cooperative pharmacies?

[Answer] We are not saying that cooperative pharmacies are to be prohibited or

permitted. But we are saying that when the law allows pharmacists to be hired by pharmacies, cooperative pharmacies would then be permissible. But as long as the law stipulates that pharmacies are to be owned by pharmacists, then cooperative pharmacies are prohibited, and [their existence] violates the law. According to the Pharmacy Law, [for example], a pharmacy has to be located on the street level. When a pharmacy is located in a shelter or underground, it is violating the law.

[Question] Reference must be made here to the fact that drug prices in cooperative pharmacies were about 10 percent lower than prices in ordinary pharmacies. Don't you think that importers and pharmacists are realizing illegitimate profits?

[Answer] At one time drug prices in cooperative pharmacies were lower than they were in ordinary pharmacies. That is true. Today, however, these rates have been reduced considerably and they are no longer those rates that you talked about. Cooperatives can, of course, reduce prices or rather, they were reducing prices.

[Question] And they are still doing that!

[Answer] But at lower rates at the present time. This is due to the volume of sales in cooperatives which differs from the volume of sales in pharmacies.

In addition, these cooperative pharmacies rely on a pharmacist's degree. A pharmacist receives a certain sum of money every month to serve as the titular manager of a pharmacy. Reference must also be made to the fact that these cooperatives purchase drugs from [subsidiaries in] different countries whose drug prices differ from the prices that are paid for drugs manufactured in the parent companies.

[Question] But pharmacists used to purchase the same drugs that were imported by major importers in Lebanon!

[Answer] Yes, pharmacies also dealt with these varieties, but it must be said here that cooperatives, or the owners of cooperative pharmacies, visited me at the ministry and assured me that if they were to make a two percent profit on the quantities of drugs that are sold in cooperatives, their profit would be reasonable, particularly since a store that is used as a pharmacy is not subject to payment of so-called key money. The Faradan Cooperative Pharmacy, which does business underground, is an example of this. On the other hand, cooperative pharmacies do not pay for a license to practice pharmacy.

It must also be said here that many Lebanese citizens studied pharmacy. Work must be guaranteed for these people, work that assures them the minimum requirements for a decent life.

[Question] There is a question of illegal or unlicensed pharmacies. How many of these pharmacies are there, and what does the future hold for them?

[Answer] There are approximately 350 or 400 illegal pharmacies. There is a penalty clause in the new law regarding these pharmacies. That clause stipulates that any pharmacy which does not have a pharmacist is to be closed, and every pharmacy that is owned by a pharmacist is subject to a process by which

violations [of the law] can be settled. A pharmacy that violated the law would pay the fines and the fees that are due so it can obtain its license to operate.

[Question] Does this mean that you will grant operating licenses to those pharmacies that opened for business without the ministry's knowledge provided they are owned by pharmacists?

[Answer] This is a proposal which is set forth in the draft bill that will be referred to the Chamber of Deputies. It is up to the Chamber of Deputies to decide how it will approve the bill and how the parliamentary committees will amend it. This bill was not issued in statutory form because of the controversy that developed around it. It is known that the Chamber of Deputies did pass the Pharmacy Law and that the legislation was then sent to His Excellence President Ilyas Sarkis who sent it back to the Chamber at that time because of two articles.

Today there is a legal controversy around it. The controversy rests on the legality of amending articles that had been approved by the Chamber of Deputies. We sent back the bill after amending the two articles which President Sarkis had objected to. The parliamentary committees were to discuss the matter.

[Question] What about the National Drug Office? You had told AL-SAFIR that a general manager for the office would be appointed in the context of the previous administrative organization. Are you still going ahead with [plans] to set up that office despite opposition to it from importers and proprietors of drug agencies?

[Answer] The fact is that the law establishing the National Drug Office was approved by the Chamber of Deputies. We held the opinion that the law should be enforced, and we did in fact propose its implementation to the Council of Ministers, but the Council of Ministers requested that implementation be postponed.

[Question] But you were in the process of appointing a general manager for the office, [weren't you]?

[Answer] I sent the appointment decree, and objections were made to the individual who was appointed. Then there were the security incidents, and there was a freeze on all hiring. However, the controversy was about the qualifications and the classification of the general manager. The office is awaiting settlement of this matter so it can begin operating.

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NEW POLITICAL, MILITARY RELATIONSHIPS IN SOUTH SCRUTINIZED

Beirut AL-NAHAR in Arabic 5 Dec 83 pp 6, 10

[Article by May Dahir: "Experiences with Successive Occupations Have Reshuffled the Cards"]

[Text] Many events are taking place in the south and prompting questions among the citizens: the capricious closing and opening of the bridge over the al-Awwali to permit holders, movements and rumors about the possibility that an Israeli withdrawal up to al-Zahrani will soon take place, the emergence of factional armed groups in the form of a "Shiite army" and a "Sunnite army" and various forms of "national guard," "southern guard," "supporters of the army," and so forth, in the context of the absence of any role on the part of the commander of the "Army of Free Lebanon," Maj Sa'd Haddad, the breakup of these groups, assassinations and attempts to assassinate some of the people working in them. This is followed by the withdrawal of personnel and officials and the conversion of some from cooperation with Israel to cooperation against it, in the midst of one climate of threats and another climate of dialogue which is brewing up a solution to the security alternative in the south.

What, then is being brewed up for the south? Will we soon be witnessing the merger of local units, which now exist autonomously, into the Lebanese army, in accordance with the statutes of the Lebanese army, as the local civil guard, which exists now, is being merged with the "supporters" and given a suitable designation by virtue of Lebanese laws to enable it to monitor the guard over villages in the security zone, as stipulated in the 17 May agreement between Lebanon and Israel, in Paragraph D, under the subsection on security arrangements?

Urgent talks are now underway in the south on organizing a security alternative in the south to follow a possible withdrawal by Israeli forces from some positions, in order to avoid the possible outbreak of factional war between Christians and Shiites, such as that which has occurred between the Christians and the Druzes following Israel's withdrawal from the mountains.

This report, whose sources of information are officials and leaders in the south, has been made for this reason, in the attempt to clarify the moves of

the compass in the area from which the troubles that swept over Lebanon set forth, and in which the features of the new political map which will set out Lebanon's future will become clear. This future does not seem gloomy if the plan that has been set out gets in motion and the "Lebanese forces" soon declare the elimination of their barracks in the south (Jazzin and al-Zahrani), along with the personnel in them, and those in the "Free Army of Lebanon" (which will also be dissolved) are brought under control and Shiite personnel from the AMAL and other movements are also assimilated into it, in order to facilitate the Lebanese army's task in the south.

#### A Military and Political Map

In a race with the events which may take place in the south, and are contingent on the fate of the 17 May agreement, and the possibility that its security arrangements might be carried out even if it is not concluded, we present the military and political map in the south as it is today. Military and political changes have been the subject of struggle in the south year after year in the course of the past 14 years, starting with the armed Palestinian presence endorsed by the Cairo Agreement in 1969 and the operations against Israel from the Lebanese borders, proceeding through the Israeli reprisal shelling of towns and villages in the south and the Palestinian camps, the Israeli invasion up to the al-Litani River in 1978 and the withdrawal of Israel before the international emergency forces, with the retention of a border strip containing a Lebanese military presence led by Maj Sa'd Haddad, and ending with an Israeli invasion which reached Beirut in summer 1982.

Early in December 1983, a year and a half after the Israeli occupation of the south, we can trace the military and political map of Lebanese military organizations and local leaders linked together only by an Israeli thread whose removal will undo the knots, with the result that the protagonists will rise up against one another.

The people occupying the south have taken turns carrying out the policy of "divide and rule" which every occupying power pursues, in every time and place, to the point where matters are now confusing to the southerners today.

When they observe Col Haim, the Israeli military governor in Tyre, they believe that they are observing Maj 'Azmi, the Palestinian official in Tyre before the Israeli invasion. They scrutinize the activities of Col Sami, the military governor of Sidon, and find themselves facing a copy of Lt Col al-Hajj Isma'il, the former Palestinian commander of the southern region.

They try to make sense of the small military organizations existing in the south, in the form of a "national guard," "southern guard," "supporters of the army," "unified southern grouping," "Sidon grouping," "grouping of the young people of Tyre," and many others, and find models of Palestinian and Lebanese organizations with which the FATH organization was confronted in the south and which committed acts on its behalf when it did not want to seem to be the body that perpetrated them.

In Sidon there is a representative, Abu 'Aridah (Muhammad Mustafa al-Gharnati), who leads from 200 to 300 of Sidon's young people who constitute what is called the national guard, albeit under another official name, the "Sidon grouping." This Abu 'Aridah was in charge of the "united security" in the FATH movement and was directly subordinate to Abu Iyad, the second man in FATH.

In Tyre the head of the Fishermen's Union, Ibrahim Farran, heads an armed group of young men with Israeli blessings. Until very recently he was in charge of FATH in Tyre and ran its affairs through the port.

Abu Sati' ('Abd-al-Amir Mansur), of the town of Ansar, heads the Shiite army, which contains close to 120 armed southerners. He recently declared, at a press conference he held in an AMAL movement office in the southern suburb, that this "army" was being disbanded, saying that he had established it "because of deception by the Israeli enemy," and pledged anew his loyalty to the AMAL movement.

This Abu Sati', who cooperated with Israel and established his Shiite army, which the Israelis trained, was an official in the al-Sa'iqah organization during the Palestinian armed presence in the south. He then moved over to the AMAL movement when armed skirmishes occurred between the Palestinians and movement personnel, and he soon was carrying the Israeli flag, during the Israeli invasion, declaring the formation of his Shiite army "to protect my people." Finally, he returned to the ranks of AMAL, out of conviction or under the pressure of a threat. However, this army did not disband itself; rather, it continued, under the name of the army of southern Lebanon, whose media official, Nimr Kajak, declared at a press conference he held in Ansar that Abu Sati' had been expelled and that the army, "which has the goal of providing security for all the people of the south," would remain, stressing that it was "at the disposal of the Lebanese government and the legitimate Lebanese army only."

Haydar al-Dayikh, from Juya in the District of Tyre, heads the "supporters of the army" in his town and on his military vehicle has put the title "Karbala' Emergency" in assertion of his Shiite affiliation. Nowadays, he is busy at work in his barracks in Juya, where a number of young Shiites are being trained by the Israelis. He refuses to meet anyone, journalists in particular, saying "They lie and turn the facts around." He would prefer not to end up murdered, like the "national guard" chief in al-Nabtiyah, Ahmad Sallum, or be taken away to the Shiite truants' home, like Abu Sati'. In the days of the Palestinians, Haydar al-Dayikh was on the side of the FATH movement, but he soon developed differences with them and joined Maj Had-dad's forces in Marj'uyun.

The purpose in the Israelis' attempt to organize a "Shiite army" in the south and stress its factional designation is no secret to anyone in a country where factional quarrels are inflamed by disputes over traffic rights-of-way. Nor is what Israel tried to do in the al-Kharrub area of the Shuf, by organizing a "Sunni army" composed of a number of young Sunnis headed by Nabil Bashashah from Barja, a secret. He moves in and out of the region in Israeli equipment and has organized a campaign to force the young

people in his town to submit and fight along the Burja-al-Jayyah front against the Lebanese forces. In the days of the Palestinians, he was responsible for the al-Kharrub area within the Popular Front -- General Command.

The people in charge of local military organizations in the south justify their changing positions by saying that they are serving their people, in accordance with the circumstances.

Sidon

Abu 'Aridah, the chief of the "Sidon Grouping," who has recently returned from Israel after recuperating from a wound in his leg which, he states, was caused when his small son dropped a gun by him and a bullet went off which went through his leg, talked about his organization, stating that it was "for the preservation of security in the area in cooperation with the Israelis." He described what happened in the south with the Israeli invasion: "When the defending army went into Sidon, a number of young Palestinians and Lebanese were arrested. I was among those arrested, because I was in charge of 'consolidated security' in FATH in Sidon. The area was lost and there was no one to protect it. After 10 months of imprisonment in Ansar, I reached an understanding with the Israelis, and returned to the town. At that time no one who claimed to be a leader in Sidon was active. They kept to their homes, out of fear that they would be said to be agents. Today they are trying to say that I am an Israeli agent. All right. The important thing is that I am serving the people of my country. Let anyone who has another alternative be so gracious as to present it."

[Question] How are you serving the people of your town?

[Answer] I am constantly trying to release arrested persons who are from Sidon, except for those who were implicated in operations against the Israelis; they have committed outrages against themselves. A person who fires a rocket at the Israelis harms the people of the country more than the Israelis.

[Question] These services do not demand that there be weapons at the disposal of your group!

[Answer] The weapons are to protect the people of my town against acts of aggression.

[Question] Who is committing aggression against them?

[Answer] When the Israelis went into Sidon, the Phalagists, the "cedar guards" and so forth went in with them. We cannot abandon the stage to them.

[Question] Abu Sati', following the disbanding of his army, said that he had recently discovered that the Israelis wanted him to play the role of an informer against his people, and for this reason he withdrew.

[Answer] Abu Sati' is full of nonsense. I do not spy on my own people. Our grouping is not a national guard but rather is made up of young people from Sidon, to prevent acts of aggression, theft, arms procurement and killing.

[Question] However, you have been accused of committing acts of aggression and carrying out shakedowns in the days of the Palestinians and in the new era!

[Answer] We do not carry out shakedowns. We are basically port workers. I worked as a stevedore in the port. The port's earnings are put in a fund and distributed among the young people.

[Question] You have been accused of burning enclosed markets in Sidon when you skirmished with the Palestinians against the secretary general of the Nasirist people's organization in Sidon, Mustafa Sa'd, and his group.

[Answer] Why is it said that I alone was behind the burning of Sidon! Why isn't it said that the responsibility for the burning lies with us and with Mustafa Sa'd? In any event, while the Palestinians were present I took one approach, and now I am taking another one. Let the people who claim to be leaders of Sidon be so kind as to reach understanding with the forces that exist, for the sake of Sidon's interests.

[Question] What about the legitimate authorities and the Lebanese army?

[Answer] We are prepared to work in the service of the army and the legitimate authorities. We are prepared to throw down arms and carry out everything the government asks of us, and we are waiting for it.

#### Tyre

In Tyre, a number of groups whose strings are pulled by Col Haim are struggling for leadership. There is the group of the head of the Fishermen's Union, Ibrahim Farran, known for distributing money and supply commodities among poor families in Tyre to gain the greatest possible number of supporters.

There is the group of the young people of Tyre, headed by the two sons of the deputy Kazim al-Khalil, Khalil and Karim al-Khalil, who returned to the city after a long absence made mandatory by their enmity toward the Palestinians, but did so through the old door, and with the prewar mentality.

There are the supporters of the army, headed by Talib Sabalini, a sergeant in the army who had joined Maj Haddad's forces.

There is the southern national grouping, headed by Shawqi al-'Abdallah, who is from the border town of al-Khiyam and for a long time has been living in Tyre, where he worked as a teacher with the Ministry of Education. He owns a money changing shop which has been subjected to arson a number of times. He sold it recently in order to "devote himself full time to political work," as he put it.

He explains how his group arose and what its objectives are, stating, "The grouping arose in the context of the Israeli occupation. It is not a party but a people's organization which takes the practical initiative of confronting the people's issues."

He adds that his grouping is not military but political, that he has just two armed men to protect him personally, and that his role is that of an "intermediary between the people and all Lebanese, Israeli and international bodies present in the south, in order to help the citizens remain on their land."

He repeated what people say about him. "At the beginning, they said that I was the willing puppet of Israel. I proceeded to be active, accepting this designation, in order to serve the people. My relationship with Israeli officers has earned me an aura among the people. Because of that, people have discovered that I can serve them, and I actually do serve them. I have gained their trust and my capacity to serve has increased. Thus I shifted from the role of functioning as an agent, in people's eyes, to that of a person serving the people, and I have shown that sincerity is stronger than rifles."

[Question] In what way can you serve the people? Can you eliminate Israeli restrictions on the al-Awwali bridge? Can you prevent the cutting off of roads, which leads to the cutting off of people's livelihood?

[Answer] Nothing will change Israel's decisions, neither I nor Sa'd Haddad, nor any other alternative. Sa'd Haddad is a pawn in the hands of officers at the rank of lieutenant in the Israeli army. Israel is committed only to its interests. When the Israeli permits to pass over the al-Awwali bridge started to go into effect, I feared that that would be a prelude to the annexation of territory, but all the Israelis I have met stress that they have no ambitions in Lebanon, and that all the military restrictions and measures are temporary ones to protect their soldiers from terrorist operations. I am calling for a just peace with Israel, but the moment that I find that Israel has territorial designs, I will become one of its antagonists.

[Question] However, the Shiite AMAL movement, and you are a Shiite, has put up a big picture of Imam Musa al-Sadr in your headquarters, stating that it is forbidden to deal with Israel.

[Answer] I say that all dealings are forbidden. However, if they are for the sake of the people, they are not forbidden. There is a prophetic tradition which states "Dealing with an oppressive ruler is a blunder and the atonement for it is serving the citizens."

[Question] Why don't you leave the role to the legitimate authorities?

[Answer] I am calling for disarmament among all the people and am calling for arms to be kept by the legitimate forces only. Arms among the people are there for infighting. Factional struggles will put an end to Lebanon. We, the Shiites, are a minority in the Arab world, and any neglect of a single grain of Lebanese soil will lead us to fragmentation and annihilation. Therefore, we have no choice but to support the legitimate authorities and work to retain Lebanon while developing the form it is to take.

Factional differentiation in the south leads us to view the Shiites as the most populous faction, and in Israel's eyes the most important one to coopt,

in order that its danger may be controlled. Therefore, the Israelis, since entering the south, have sought to create a Shiite strongman who will cooperate with them and be an alternative to Maj Haddad. Haddad and his army, as well as the Lebanese Forces, guaranteed Israel legitimate grounds for entering Lebanon by cooperating with it, and the Israelis put the Christian card in their pocket the moment they entered Lebanon "to rid the Christians of the common Palestinian enemy."

The Druze card was procured with the opening of lines between Israeli Druzes and the Druzes of Lebanon, especially between the religious figures in both countries. This card was confirmed by the Druze military victory in 'Alayh and al-Shuf, which the Israelis had guaranteed, against the Lebanese Forces, when they withdrew, dragging their tails in disappointment and bitterness over an ally they had believed was permanent and strategic.

Here they have ended up, besieged in Dayr al-Qamar while the "Israeli ally" is right alongside them, but not intervening.

#### Hasbiya

The strength and coherence of the Druze card are clearly apparent in the District of Hasbiya in the south, from which the Druzes of Israel began to contact the Druzes of Lebanon. In the District of Hasbiya the national guard seems detached from everything that is happening in other southern areas. There it is as if they are living in another world, a self-sufficient world; nonetheless, "the people are devoted to the legitimate authorities in a strange manner, and their yearning for them is very strong," the head of its national guard, Shaykh 'Alam-al-Din Badawi, says. The legitimate authorities, whose symbols are furnished by the "men of achievement" in various areas of the south, although they have no role except to observe and record, that is, to function as the eyes and ears of the government, are as absent from the south as water is absent from the Sahara. Nonetheless, these authorities are what the ordinary citizens are asking for, just as they are what the people who lead the military organizations, and their personnel, are asking for. Shaykh Badawi is calling for them, and, while waiting for them, is exercising his security role, "and it would be better for us to play the role of internal security than for Israel to do so."

He relates that he moved over to Marj'uyun in the shadow of the Palestinian occupation because of the vexations the Palestinians were causing, among them supporting the Jumblattis against the Yazbakis. "I am from a Yazbaki family and my father is a paramount sheikh of al-Bayyadah. The Palestinians and the leftwing mercenaries treated him with contempt, compelling me to join Maj Haddad's forces in order to work from that basis to save my country."

He interprets his cooperation with Israel as "cooperation with the stronger party to realize a specific principle, which is to preserve ordinary security. What can a person do in the face of likely developments? Cooperating with the Lebanese government would solve 80 percent of the problem, but the government does not want to cooperate with us."

He goes on to say, "I am convinced that Israel did not enter the south to annex it.

"I will change my entire conduct the moment I become convinced that it is trying to do so."

Shaykh Badawi was working in Beirut in maintenance, in an automobile mechanic and painting company. He stopped working in 1976 and went back to his own town, where he branched out into military activity. He is prepared to go back to work the moment normal conditions prevail, and the legitimate forces take over the nation's resources.

The national guard in Hasbiya is connected to the Army of Free Lebanon command and its personnel receive salaries from the latter; however, the rest of the military organizations in the various areas of the south do not function like that, and receive their incomes from shakedowns which they carry out in towns and villages. The expenses of the Army of Free Lebanon are met by taxes imposed on the al-Zahrani refinery, mechanics and the ports of Sidon and Tyre.

#### Haddad's Disappointment

Maj Haddad had expected that all the military organizations in the south would be incorporated into his command and would be organized into a single Lebanese structure through which he would seek to be readmitted to the legitimate Lebanese authorities. However, he found Israel playing numerous tunes, and found that although it had committed itself to him in the negotiations which took place between Lebanon and Israel and had insisted that he be the commander of the regional brigade, Israel soon went over his head, seeking out a Shiite leader who would be content to cooperate with it. While Israel was distancing itself from Haddad and drawing close to the Shiites, Haddad's health collapsed and he retired to Israel for a long time to recuperate. He returned about a month ago and ensconced himself in his home in Marj'uyun, refusing to receive anyone.

His withdrawal has raised doubts about the grievous state of his health, and this has prompted him to tell some people close to him, "What are you doing? Go deal with me like Hafiz al-Asad!" However, these confidantes say that the man has put on weight. He attributes this "to sleeping, eating, and not working." They also say that he has grown bald; he remarks, "I cut my ha.

In spite of his explanations, they find him nervous and very vexed. They observe his disappointment with the Lebanese authorities, who sent him to be a commander of the eastern sector of the south in 1976 by orders of President Sulayman Franjiyah. They feel that he has not gained at all by carrying out orders and defending his region. He has not earned a piaster to enrich him or bring him close to rich people, as opposed to all the politicians and military people who amassed wealth while defending their own groups. He does not know how he will be able to ensure a clear, secure future for his family, which consists of his wife and six daughters. He has not enjoyed the status of military rank, contrary to his comrades in the Lebanese army, who have risen to the rank of colonel and above.

His greatest frustration, they say, has been with Israel, especially after the events in the mountains and the forced emigration of the Christians, not to speak of the failure to respond to his demands, which included many things that would offer benefits for the citizens.

We tried to meet Maj Haddad in Marj'uyun a few days ago, but found that he was packing his bags to go to Israel after a month's seclusion.

He might be going to recuperate, or for renewed discussion of the new military and political situation that is enveloping the south.

#### The Obscure Card

Let us return to the Shiite card, which is still obscure. We know that the AMAL movement in the south dominates the overwhelming majority of the members of the sect, who view it as a legitimate representative of their rights, and in addition it shakes a heavy stick in the face of people who are not in line with its political and military positions. It appears that some officials in the AMAL movement in the south are trying, via the Lebanese army, to facilitate the security alternatives that are reappearing in the south in order to avoid any security vacuum that might arise with Israeli withdrawals. The Israelis, for their part, have grown tired of the shifting Lebanese sands and of playing the role of policeman in the towns and the villages, for which they generally pay the price through their soldiers' lives. Therefore they seem to be making preparations to consolidate their forces in the south, and are finding this time a Lebanese army that is receptive to moving into the south and organizing a security alternative, contrary to the case in the mountains on the eve of the Israelis' gathering up of their forces and total withdrawal from them.

The role of the AMAL movement in the south is essential to the organization of the security alternative, and nothing indicates that it will impede the government's efforts in that direction.

Mrs Rabab al-Sadr Sharaf-al-Din, the sister of Imam Musa al-Sadr, speaks about Shiite devotion to the Lebanese government and compares it to a child whose devotion to his mother increases the more she neglects him, contrary to the spoiled child who distances himself from his mother the more she spoils him. She says that the Lebanese government has neglected the Shiites a great deal and disenfranchised them greatly, but nonetheless they are more devoted to the government than any other faction. She points out that she could not hold back her tears when she saw the president, Shaykh Amin al-Jumayyil, the eve of independence day on television, staying up late with the troops, eating their food and drinking from their cups. "Every Lebanese was affected. Therefore, they must form a single faction in the face of every outsider.

"Factional political fighting has ruined Lebanon. We agree that every foreigner on our territory should be sent away and we do not accept that anyone should commit aggression against our government. We Shiites might differ with the government over its structure, but we will not form alliances against it with others."

Mrs Rabab speaks in detail in offering her felings about the legitimate Lebanese authorities.

She was born in Iran and studied there until the secondary level. She went to Lebanon in 1962, married Husayn Sharaf-al-Din, and started to work with him on the philanthropic projects set out by her brother, Imam Musa al-Sadr, whom she beseeches God to bring back to her "if we have the good fortune to have him [still alive]." She was in the third year of the Lebanese University, studying philosophy, when "the gentleman's problem occurred," and she ceased pursuing studies and mobilized her time and career in the higher Shiite Islamic council and the AMAL movement in order "to constitute the rosary string which brought the beads together," by the description of many members of the faction. It was thanks to her that Shaykh Muhammad Mahdi Shams-al-Din and Mr Nabih Barri were reconciled, after a harsh struggle. She has four children in Beirut and she does not go up to them, or want them to come to her, until the Israeli permit procedures at the al-Awwali bridge come to an end. She moves about in Tyre, between her home and the school she runs in North al-Burj, for orphan girls, which has 300 students. She is part of the Jabal 'Amil organization, which contains a nursing and vocational school for girls and boys.

She says, "Because of the shutdown of the road, I do not go to Beirut. I do not go and I do not get permits. No southerner who is committed to the south will get a permit from the occupation authorities or abandon the government."

[Question] However, many people are compelled to move between Beirut and the south for their livelihood, and they are compelled to go to the Israeli authorities for a transit permit.

[Answer] Let them go.

[Question] Are you threatening everyone who talks with Israel?

[Answer] I do not threaten and I do not like violence, but I am forcefully on the side of what is right.

[Question] Why have Shiite statements against dealing with Israel just been picking up for a short time, and there was a long silence before that? Is that because it has become apparent to you that Israel does not prosecute people for their opinions?

[Answer] At the beginning, the Israeli invasion seemed to be a catastrophe. Some time passed before anyone was able to express his opinion. We want all the occupying powers to leave Lebanon and the legitimate authorities alone to prevail.

[Question] Why don't you express clear opinions regarding the Syrian presence?

[Answer] Because we must treat all the problems between ourselves and the Arabs quietly, while we must raise our voices against Israel, in the case of that country.

[Question] Why do you oppose an Arab country, Iraq, in its war with Iran?

[Answer] That is a political matter outside the Lebanese problem, and I will not go into details.

[Question] However, you put up a picture of Imam Khomeyni in your office!

[Answer] He is my spiritual point of reference and the crown on my head, as the pope in the Vatican is the spiritual point of reference for the Catholics. Lebanese national affairs are my business alone, and neither Khomeyni nor anyone else can influence my Lebanese national position.

[Question] In the south, some Shiite leaders deal with the Israelis, out of the intention of serving the people, for instance by releasing detained persons and solving diverse problems of life.

[Answer] We solve all our problems through the government. The government alone has the right to negotiate in our name and follow up on our issues. This is the only way in which we will accept the release of detained persons, the salvation of oppressed persons and the aid of deprived persons. Our problems with the government, as a faction, go back a long time, because of its abandonment of us, its neglect of our region, and its discontinuation of the social, developmental and agricultural projects and the vital projects in the region. We deal with these problems with the government calmly, without allowing anyone to interfere in our affairs.

#### The Return of the Phalange

Thus the Shiite card continues to be light and fire in the hands of the Lebanese authorities, and Israel cannot penetrate it; therefore, the danger of the flareup of a factional war in the south between Christians and Shiites is very farfetched, especially since all the atmosphere there is suited to the organization of a security alternative. Foremost among those who cooperate are the Lebanese forces, which have learned a harsh lesson from the war in the mountain and have found that there is no alternative to offering concessions on behalf of the national interest. The Lebanese Phalange returned to the south with the Israeli invasion, after an absence of 8 years, and received a warm reception in the Christian villages in Jazzin and al-Zahrani from inhabitants who had been living in the shadow of fear of Palestinian guns.

People in the village of al-Miyah wa-Miyah with whom we spoke stressed that the arrival of Phalange troops in their area was very necessary, in the framework of the absence of the legitimate authorities, after years in which they endured the tyranny of Palestinians from the 'Ayn al-Hilwah Camp adjacent to them. They are irked with the question "Who are you pointing the rifle at today?" They say that there is no place for a vacuum in the security sense in Lebanon, and it is a natural development for the Lebanese forces to come to the town. They reject the statement which holds that the withdrawal of Phalange soldiers to the mountains to protect the Christians uprooted the Christian presence from the mountains, although this presence had been kept in the context of the Palestinian and Syrian forces and the

parties that cooperated with them. They say that a life without dignity is not a life, that the Christians, in the context of the Palestinian and Syrian occupation, had been living without dignity and that "it would have been better for us to die than to live contemptibly." They assert that the Lebanese forces restored dignity to their existence, that the area has become part of Lebanon again, and that all partition and secession plans had collapsed with them, in a single area.

Therefore, the return of the Phalange to the south has been very strong. Its effect has been great not just in the Christian areas but also in the Islamic ones. It is Sidon that is raising Phalange slogans, and the Tyre of Bashir al-Jumayyil, Pierre al-Jumayyil and Amin al-Jumayyil. Delegations set out for Bikfaya and Beirut to congratulate Shaykh Bashir on his election as president and show their joy over the departure of the Palestinian tyranny, to cry for Bashir the day he was assassinated, and to renew the pledge for the new president, Amin al-Jumayyil. However, with the passage of time, the grumbling in Sidon and the irritation over Phalangist military demonstrations began, talk of Phalangist terror, kidnapping and murder dominated, and fear, withdrawal and the search for security alternatives in Sidon started.

Dr Labib Abu Zahr was one of the prominent moderate figures in Sidon who were open in their acceptance of the Phalange and the first to congratulate Bashir al-Jumayyil for his election. Today, he has withdrawn into his hospital in Sidon and retains many observations which have irritated him and led him to put an end to the honeymoon with the Phalange.

He said, "I openly greeted the Phalange because we were partners in a single nation. I wanted this partnership to succeed in rebuilding Lebanon. However, they treated me like a weak person, as if I had come to them from below, I who had raised my voice against the Palestinians and Abu 'Ammar during his visits to Sidon, sharply condemning their behavior. I am an advocate of the Lebanese nation and reject any affiliation with anything besides the Lebanese nation, and they dealt with us as if we were persons who had suddenly come upon the country. They acted with a senseless insolence and arrogance. We have roots in this city, and we wanted to participate equitably in rebuilding it, but they wanted to monopolize everything. They went beyond us and cooperated with people who trod the legitimate powers underfoot, considering that moderates like me were in their pocket. But I am not in their pocket at all. I believe that the chance of a lifetime for saving Lebanon was in the hands of the Phalange, and that it lost it."

None of Dr Abu Zahr's observations on the Phalange behavior in Sidon go beyond criticism of their political behavior and their military demonstrations. He does not consider them responsible for the murders that have occurred: "The leftists, largely the partisans of the Communist Party and the Communist Action Organization, have been behind the killings, because they have an interest in stirring up factional vendettas."

The talk about the Phalangist excesses in Sidon provokes the anger of the Phalangist chairman of the al-Zahrani region, Ilyas Kassab. He is a graduate of the Faculty of Education and has a degree of mastery of Arabic literature.

He raises his voice in anger: "There is nothing easier than to blame the Phalange for everything that happens. There is nothing easier than political and factional auctioneering and the acquisition of cheap popularity that destroys the nation rather than building it up."

He adds, "When we came back to the area we extended our hand to everyone and opened up to everyone. We came with the watchword that God had forgiven everyone for what was past. I was the first person to enter the Sidon citadel prison to meet Mustafa Sa'd, and I helped release him because he is a son of Sidon and because he is the son of the Sidon leader Ma'ruf Sa'd.

"We met with all the leaders in the south, and we did not have inferiority complexes with anyone. We did not stand alongside any group against another. This may have irritated some people, and charges were launched that had no basis except auctioneering. They all meet with us and praise us, and outside the meeting rooms they condemn us.

"We are the only ones who meet with the Israelis as equals and we get our orders only from Beirut. We challenge anyone, whoever he may be, to carry out a civil insurrection like the one we carried out in Kafr Falus against Israeli practices. Men, women and children stood up to Israeli tanks with stones, sticks and fists, and prevented them from advancing to shut down the Phalangist barracks.

"We came to the area without Israeli approval. Our personnel's weapons are confiscated at the Israeli barriers every day but nonetheless we have come because we believe that Lebanon is for all the Lebanese and not for a single group, and our presence south of the al-Awwali and north of the al-Awwali constitutes a guarantee for the people of Sidon and the people of the south in the face of the Israelis and the unification of Lebanon.

"Today we say shame, a thousand times shame, that the auctioneering is continuing in the south! Shame that the auctioneering political slogans are continuing! All the southern leaders must stand together in a single rank and set out a solution to the problem of the south from the purely national angle. They must take the Lebanese authorities by the hand and give the president, Shaykh Amin al-Jumayyil, the responsibility for creating a solution to the problem of the south, as the national interest views it."

We ask Ilyas Kassab why detainees who had been released from Ansar were being kidnapped, and he replied by asking "What are they doing in Jazzin, al-Jayyah and al-Rumaylah? Their homes are not there. Our only logical explanation is that they have joined up with the people who fought us in the al-Kharrub area, and that we cannot permit."

We ask him about the reasons why the Phalange opposed Rafiq al-Hariri's plans in Kafr Falus; he is the person who is building a hospital, university and housing settlements which will bring benefits to the whole area. He replies, "Al-Hariri's projects have brought economic disaster on the region, not economic revival. His projects are too big to be absorbed by the region, and their development is not natural.

"Why is the award for the palace decor to cost 43 million pounds? Every businessman is free to spend his money, but throwing millions away in an area that is economically stagnant is not normal. Raising the price of land per square meter overnight from 5 to 500 pounds is not normal. Raising the rent on apartments in La'ba suddenly from 12,000 to 25,000 pounds is not normal.

"I respect the university and hospital projects, but constructing 5,000 residential units I do not understand at all, especially since it is accompanied by projects to settle Palestinians in the south. Today, even though the Palestinian element has been eliminated in the south, the problem has not yet ended in all of Lebanon. As a consequence, we must remain wary, until we become assured that all partition and settlement plans in Lebanon fail."

He adds that the Phalange has returned all the equipment it took from al-Hariri to him. He is completing his projects, except for the housing complexes. "Our whole problem with al-Hariri was solved through conversation with him. We honor his political role in standing alongside President al-Jumayyil and creating a solution to the Lebanese problem."

#### Overall Misfortune

Thus we find all the voices in the south loudly supporting the legitimate authorities and embracing positions in which they relinquish their gains for the sake of the legitimate authorities.

The south, today, is going through a stifling economic crisis which it has not previously known in the past 9 years. Thoroughfares are shut down and hundreds of cars and trucks wait for days before being able to pass on, and all southerners share a common vital concern which has united them like nothing has united them before. The woman from the border village of 'Ayn Ibl, which fought the Palestinians and was one of the first villages to open the border with Israel, says, "God brought prosperity the days the Syrians and Palestinians were on the al-Awwali. Not in their lives did they cause any trouble like this!"

A man from al-Sultaniyah said, "Whenever I hear the news that the al-Awwali has been shut down, my heart tightens up and I feel suffocation."

The factories are shut down in the south. No primary materials are arriving regularly from Beirut, and buying them from Israel is very costly in light of the economic crisis there.

The farmers are screaming. The citrus fruit is going to waste, and their losses are in the millions; they cannot find anyone to insure and export the fruit. Israeli bananas come into the Lebanese market and pass easily over the al-Awwali, while Lebanese bananas stay where they are, without moving. The prices of fish from Sidon and Tyre decline, and exports to the north are slow.

The continuation of some construction work, such as that which is going on in the town of al-Khiyam and the center of Baru on the Israeli borders near Kafr Kala, which consists of a hotel, a casino and a restaurant, does not mean that life is normal in the south so much as it means a readiness for a forward leap in the future there. Will we soon witness a national solution which will be a prelude to a comprehensive solution in Lebanon?

All parties have received a severe lesson from all the people who have come in succession to occupy Lebanon, and the time has come for everyone to abandon his role and his momentary gains. The government is no longer "strong through its weakness," but rather is strong through the force of those who help it and its national unity.

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NEW PRESIDENT OF BAR ASSOCIATION DISCUSSES ASSOCIATION'S NATIONAL ROLE

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic No 36, 17 Dec 83 pp 56-57

[Interview with 'Isam Karam, new president of the Bar Association by 'Isa ibn Hisham: "It Hurt Me To See that Geneva Was Closer than B'abda and that there Was Neither Victor' nor Vanquished in Mount Lebanon"]

[Excerpts] In addition to being a brilliant penal attorney, the new president of the Bar Association, 'Isam Karam, is also a writer and a journalist. He is well-known in the Ministry of Justice, as he is among readers, for being an Arabic stylist, [a skill] he acquired from his father, the major novelist, Karam Malham Karam. He also acquired his stylistic skill from al-Hikmah School in Beirut which has been well-known for devoting special attention to the Arabic language ever since it was founded late in the 19th century.

The new president of the bar association has looked after public affairs since his youth when he was an official in the Law Students' Association. Later he plunged into the world of politics with aspirations for a better future for his country. Until a few days before his election president of the Bar Association, 'Isam Karam was writing a daily column in AL-BAYRAQ and two weekly columns in LE REVUE DU LIBAN and MONDAY MORNING, two weekly magazines that are published in Beirut in French and in English, [respectively].

AL-TADAMUN interviewed 'Isam Karam and talked with him about the concerns of the legal profession, the concerns of the country and matters of concern in culture, thought and literature in Lebanon.

'Isam Karam said, "Practicing law is not incompatible with literature; it is also not incompatible with public affairs. Quite the contrary, practicing law is a material point in literature and a material point in public affairs as well. I have always said that of all professional associations the Bar Association is the association of the written word and the spoken word. Accordingly, practicing law involves being a wordsmith, and words may be the most civilized [tools] in the world utilized by humans on the highest level. It is human words that ultimately give form to thought, and it is words that give people their worth. The practice of law is [also] not incompatible with public affairs. Quite the contrary, public affairs are an essential component of the legal profession. The law of the bar states that the bar association is to take part in public affairs. Of course it is not the business of the Bar Association to become involved in politics. Instead, the bar association has to remain above politics; it has to remain on a level at which it can provide national guidance. This is its major role.

"I used to write [a column] every day for AL-BAYRAQ, and I used to write every week for LE REVUE DU LIBAN and MONDAY MORNING. But now that I have assumed responsibility for the presidency of this association, I will stop writing. This is because when I write, I do not write about al-Mutanabbi or about Jean Paul Sartre, but I write about politics. There is an endless array of political opinions among attorneys. What then would I write about? I must remain above politics, and I must also keep the presence of the association on such a national level that would enable us to have an association that could bring together everybody's opinions and create a measure of harmony among those opinions."

[Question] Does this mean that the Bar Association will stay away from any political dialogue?

[Answer] Politics in the sense of setting a national direction and in the sense of making crucial decisions is something that the Bar Association will not stay away from. In the past the Bar Association did play a role in this area. Attorneys are determined to have a role in saving their country. Attorneys cannot stand idly by and see their country in the predicament it is in--a country under occupation--nor can they celebrate their country's independence when their own people are looking for that independence. It was fortunate that the elections of the Bar Association were held on the eve of Flag Day and Independence Day. The Bar Association is an association of opinions, an association of positions and an association of independence. I cannot imagine the Bar Association being anything but independent. When the association expresses an opinion, it is expressing the opinion of attorneys and assuming a position that is in their interests. But it does so independently, in the interests of the country and in the interests of saving the country.

I believe in the independence of the courts. An independent country is a country where the bar association is independent and where the courts are independent. No one can conceive of a judge who would not be completely independent. Total independence cannot come about under the shadow of events such as those we are now experiencing because a judge's role as well as an attorney's role under such conditions would be suspended. [Under such conditions] laws do not rule and security does not exist. When judgments are made, they are not made to be filed away; they are made to be executed. We are now trying to work towards the day when judgments will be carried out and people can get their rights by having an attorney present their case [in court] and a judge rule on it.

[Question] There is no doubt that the Bar Association is an association of opinions and national positions. But do you have a certain view of what you should do as attorneys regarding the crisis of Lebanon as a whole?

[Answer] The Bar Association cannot become involved in daily politics. However, by the statements it makes, the opinions it expresses and the positions it assumes, the Bar Association can say no to occupation. It can say no to everything that would erode the country's independence. It can say yes to the independence of Lebanon, and it can contribute in its own context to every national action that would end the occupation and bring about independence. The Bar Association can call for a national conference, and our association can take part with all [other] associations in a national position that calls for an end to occupation. If attorneys were allowed to carry guns, all attorneys would become

soldiers for Lebanon. But guns alone accomplish nothing. Quite the contrary, guns have been agents of destruction. It is words that must be used to repair what the guns have destroyed.

[Question] [Indeed, words must be used to repair what guns have destroyed], particularly since the opinion about the courage of the brave has been accepted!

[Answer] Undoubtedly, even though others have said that a sword is a more truthful reporter of news than a writ. Abu Tammam said this about 'Amuriyah. When al-Mu'tasim conquered 'Amuriyah it could have been said that the sword was a more truthful reporter of the news than a writ, but today, in my opinion, this is not being said. Literary men have been known to stray from [their alliance with] people, and they wrote about that. When Victor Hugo wrote about people, he wrote wonderful, splendid things. But one day the people followed his opponent La Martine who was not only his opponent in literature but also in politics. As you know, La Martine supported the republic and the tri-colored French flag. Victor Hugo, however, supported Napoleon III who did not appoint Hugo minister because Hugo did not do what was expected of him as a representative. As a representative he may have done things that were considered out of the ordinary, but Hugo wrote about the people until the people marched against him. A few days later he wrote, "The people are above, and the mob is below." Hugo was thus making a distinction between the people and the mob. During the days of 'Amuriyah it may have been true to say that a sword was a more truthful reporter of news than words, but with us, unfortunately, swords have not been truthful. It is swords that dismembered this country, and it is swords that are continuing to dismember it. This country has paid a lot for other people's wars, wars which have been fought on its territory. Lebanon paid the bills for everybody. It is entitled to have its previous days of prosperity restored.

[Question] How does President Karam see the future of Lebanon? Conferees in Geneva did reach conclusions about the identity and the role of Lebanon.

[Answer] An attorney cannot deal with a country that is not united, a country that is not independent. He cannot deal with a country where law and legitimacy do not prevail. When those values are diminished, it is as though the country itself ceases to exist. This is because legitimacy, law, sovereignty, independence, freedom, democracy and liberalism are vital requirements for an attorney. Actually, liberalism has neither color nor description; it is neither the purview of the right-wing nor that of the left-wing. There are totalitarian regimes on the right, and there are totalitarian regimes on the left. It is liberalism that resists both. The future must lead us into a view of all these matters. The problem of Lebanon for a long time has been one of loyalty and affiliation. It is unfortunate that we in Lebanon have spent 40 years thinking that we had solved the problem of loyalty and affiliation in 1943 only to find out 40 years later that we have to examine what constitutes loyalty to Lebanon and what affiliation with Lebanon means.

What I want to say is that we see one Lebanon and that Lebanon consists of those factions that can be found in it. It is not essential that those factions be parties. We must try to fuse those factions within Lebanon. We must try to fuse the Lebanese people together because the 1943 Covenant was nothing more than an attempt to fuse these factions. At first that attempt created some momentum. But

then that momentum died. The reason for that may be attention to ordinary political affairs. There was no interest in higher policy [or] in political leadership; there was no interest in continuing the momentum of the 1943 Covenant so it can perform the mission that it had been set to perform. It is for this reason that 40 years later we had to go back a little to the beginning: we had to go back to independence; we had to go back to look into [the matter of] loyalty and affiliation.

The Geneva Conference was, of course, a good conference. As citizens, it hurt us to see our leading opinion and political figures go to Geneva to consider the future of the country. It hurt us to see that Geneva was closer to B'abda than Zgharta; it hurt us to see that Geneva was closer to Tripoli than B'abda, closer to B'abda than al-Mukhtarah and closer to B'abda than the southern district even though B'abda is part of the southern district. Geneva did something important: it brought the leaders closer together. Before Geneva the leaders were very far apart from each other, and there was a time when we needed to have them brought closer together. Had we succeeded in doing that, we would have spared Mount Lebanon the grievous tragedies that occurred there. Matters cannot remain as they are now in Mount Lebanon because no one is thinking about partitioning Lebanon. The land belongs to the people, and in Mount Lebanon there are no victors and no vanquished. Ultimately, people will go back to their land. The people of Mount Lebanon are constructive people. Temporary outbursts of feelings may get the better of them, but people know that errors do not endure. It is right that endures, and right begins by correcting mistakes.

8492

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## QABUS INTERVIEWED ON DOMESTIC, FOREIGN ISSUES

Doha GULF TIMES in English 22, 23 Dec 83 p 21

["Text" of Sultan Qabus ibn Sa'id Al Bu Sa'id interview with Oman's JOURNAL OF DEFENCE AND DIPLOMACY; no date given]

[Text] **Q: Like other Gulf nations, Oman largely depends upon a foreign work force. Does this expatriate population affect Oman's internal security? Are there plans to Omanise the work force?**

Qaboos: The expatriate population is making a valuable contribution to the development of our country; they do not in any way affect our internal security, firstly, because we are naturally selective as to those who are recruited for work here and, secondly, because there are in any case no grounds for threats to be fomented against Oman's internal stability.

Indeed, there are very definite plans to press forward with Omanisation in every sphere of our national activity. We shall certainly continue to need foreign specialist advice and other assistance, notably in the field of technology, for a number of years to come, but great emphasis is being placed upon providing the training and opportunities for our young Omani people to fill this requirement themselves as a matter of high priority. I am very satisfied with the considerable and increasing progress we are making with this. The opening in 1986 of our national university — Qaboos University — which will enable our young men and

women to qualify in specialist professions, will provide greater impetus to our Omanisation plans.

**Q: The war between Iraq and Iran is now almost three years old, and the economic burden and loss of life grows daily. How can this conflict be resolved?**

Qaboos: This war between two Moslem countries is indeed deplorable, and there is nothing I should like better than to see it brought to an end — not only because of the tragic loss of life and economic destruction that it has created for the people of both countries, but also because of the instability that it creates for our region. But it is difficult at present to see signs that this conflict will be resolved, one can only hope that eventually a satisfactory and lasting solution will be negotiated between the two sides.

**Q: What are your views with regard to the recent events within the Palestine Liberation Organisation?**

Qaboos: As you know, the Sultanate wholeheartedly supports the Palestinian people in their struggle to regain their homeland and for the world to acknowledge their national dignity and rights. The sufferings of the

Palestinian people over all these many years constitute a standing reproach to humanity, I believe — as I have often stated before — that every avenue must be thoroughly explored to bring about a peaceful solution, to this problem, honourable and satisfactory to the undoubtedly legitimate claims of the Palestinian people. For many years, the PLO has undertaken to represent these claims and to work for their achievement, and I certainly hope that it will settle its differences and unitedly continue to direct constructively all its efforts to this end. At the same time, I regard it as essential that the voice of the Palestinian people as a whole should be heard and taken fully into account in the search for a settlement. It must also be understood that the world as a whole — and particularly the United States and the West — has a responsibility to play its part in working for this settlement and in ensuring that it is equitable and satisfactory to the Palestinian people.

**Q: Do you believe the Camp David accords are still alive or is some other approach now necessary?**

Qaboos: The Camp David accords formed and still form, the only constructive step

toward a peaceful settlement of the Middle East problem that has so far been achieved. I certainly believe that the accords must be regarded as still alive and that every effort must be made to build on them. Further progress, has, of course, been hindered by Israeli intransigence but we must not be deterred by this. There must be no capitulation of Palestinian rights, but the search for a solution must be continued. All possible approaches that might leave to a peaceful settlement should be continually sought and pursued. And, as I have said, the United States must strongly play its part in this.

**Q: Oman has recently borrowed \$300m from a group of international banks. What has been the effect of the present oil market on the Omani economy?**

Qaboos: Oil prices now seem to have stabilised at a satisfactory level, both from the producer's and the consumer's point of view. I believe there is no reason why this stabilisation should not be maintained. Although world oil consumption has undoubtedly declined recently and carefully husbanded imports will clearly continue to be a factor for consumer countries in the present world economic situation, the inevitable continued industrial development and the drive to improve living conditions will be strong factors in maintaining demand.

We have always borne in mind the possibility of a decline in world consumption, with its consequent effect on prices. Apart from paring some relatively minor aspects of our development plans and spreading their implementation over a longer period, our main projects have been substantially unaffected. The borrowing of \$300m is a prudent measure to safeguard the Sultanate's future position against all possible eventualities.

**Q: The navigable waters of the Strait of Hormuz go through Omani national waters. What**

**efforts are being taken to protect this vital oil route? What support should Oman receive from the Eastern nations to assist in the protection of the Strait?**

Qaboos: The main navigation channel through the Strait of Hormuz runs, as you have said, through Omani territorial waters. Therefore, the Sultanate accepts a responsibility for doing all it can to ensure the safe passage of all peaceful international navigation. At the same time, in the light of the seriously unstable situation affecting the Gulf, we believe that all the Gulf states should be concerned with this matter, and that the Cooperation Council for the Arab States of the Gulf Council could play a part in offering a plan to help ensure the continued safety of international shipping. I also feel it is right to expect the Western nations to assist with the provision of equipment the Western nations to assist with the provision of equipment and such technical assistance as may be required, since they have a vital interest in preserving the safe passage of all shipping through the strait.

**Q: What are the relations between Oman and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (PDRY)? Does the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman (PFLO) still represent a threat to Oman?**

Qaboos: The agreement signed between the Sultanate of South Yemen last October was the first step taken for many years toward an eventual normalisation of relations, based as it was on the Sultanate's long-standing requirement that there should be no interference by either country in the internal affairs of the other. Up to the present, South Yemen has observed the agreement, but we are naturally continuing to be very watchful.

The so-called PFLO has for many years now existed in name only as a Communist front propaganda facade of no

real substance. It poses no threat to the Sultanate.

**Q: Oman has declared its adherence to non-alignment. What is the effect on this neutral course of Soviet involvement in the region through its proxies?**

Qaboos: It is our aim, in concert with our brothers of the Cooperation Council for the Arab States of the Gulf, to achieve the highest degree of self-sufficiency in all spheres, so that our region can avoid involvement in the superpower rivalry. I am happy to say that we and our brothers have made very significant progress to this end and I am confident that our continued cooperation in the future will be of the greatest value to the security and well-being of our peoples. However, it would be folly to ignore the blatant expansionist plans of the Soviet Union, one has only to look around the world to see the reality of this threat, and Oman must maintain and develop its relations with its friends in the world as a protection against these ambitions. I and my people have had first-hand experience of what this threat can mean to a small independent country, and we have no intention of becoming vulnerable to it again.

**Q: Your recent visit to the United States was a diplomatic success and underscored the defence relationship between Oman and the United States. Are you satisfied with your relationship with the United States? How does this relationship affect Oman's position of non-alignment?**

Qaboos: I am very satisfied with my recent visit to the United States. It provided an excellent opportunity for an exchange of views between our two countries and enabled me to brief the President and his officials on the situation in the Middle East and the problems that exist there. I am also satisfied with the Sultanate's present relationship with the United States. This relationship in no way affects our position of non-alignment.

## NATIONAL BUDGET ESTIMATES LISTED

Muscat TIMES OF OMAN in English 5 Jan 84 p 2

[Text] His Majesty Sultan Qaboos approved the national budget for 1984 for the Sultanate on January 1.

Estimates say that the resources total up to RO 1,561 million: ie RO 118 million more than last year. (RO 1,443).

The expenditure is RO 115 million more than last year (1650 m) at RO 1,765 million.

Thus the deficit is RO 204 million as opposed to RO 207 million the previous year.

This reflects an improvement in the Omani economy as this happens despite declining oil prices.

Resources - other than oil-are expected to reach RO 461 million compared with RO 262 million last year.

The net income from oil this year is estimated at RO 1,100 million while in the last budget it was RO 1,181 million.

In this budget the private sector is to be subsidised by RO 9 million, showing the appreciation His Majesty shows for the significant contribution made by this section to economic development of the country.

His Majesty also allotted RO 5 million for Oman Agricultural Bank and RO 4 million for Oman Housing Bank.

The recurrent expenditure of PDO is RO 59 million. Development projects cost RO 100 million. Last year recurrent expenditure for PDO was RO 62 million and projects took RO 135 million. Here is a detailed table:

Estimates RO million

## RESOURCES

|                           |             |
|---------------------------|-------------|
| Net oil resources         | 1,100       |
| Other resources           | 170         |
| Annexed amount            | 5           |
| Annexed development loans | 166         |
| Drawn from reserves       | 120         |
| <b>TOTAL RESOURCES</b>    | <b>1561</b> |

## EXPENDITURE

|                               |     |
|-------------------------------|-----|
| Defence and national security |     |
| 1) Recurrent                  | 514 |
| 2) Capital                    | 163 |

| <b>CIVIL PURPOSES</b>               |             |
|-------------------------------------|-------------|
| <b>1) Recurrent</b>                 | <b>477</b>  |
| <b>2) Development</b>               | <b>360</b>  |
| <b>3) Financing Corporations</b>    |             |
| a) Oman Agricultural Bank           | 5           |
| b) Oman Development Bank            | 4           |
| c) Oman Housing Bank                | 4           |
| <b>4) Private sector</b>            | <b>9</b>    |
| <b>5) PDO</b>                       |             |
| a) Recurrent                        | 59          |
| b) Development projects             | 100         |
| <b>Payment for loan instalments</b> | <b>50</b>   |
| <b>Contributions</b>                | <b>20</b>   |
| <b>TOTAL EXPENDITURE</b>            | <b>1765</b> |
| <b>DEFICIT</b>                      | <b>204</b>  |

CS0: 4400/135

## NEW AGRICULTURAL TECHNIQUES REPORTED

Muscat OMAN DAILY OBSERVER in English 11 Jan 84 p 7

[Article by Chaitanya Nagarkatti]

[Text]

THE GREENING of Oman has begun. With new technology meeting with increasing success over the last five years, modern agricultural methods are really beginning to take root in the Sultanate.

An ambitious agricultural extension scheme launched by the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries reaped a rich harvest last year and newer and higher-yielding varieties of crops are being introduced along with new farming techniques.

A welcome sign in the rapid progress now being made in this important sector is the growing participation of the private sector. At the forefront of it all is the relatively new technology of drip irrigation, which, coupled with the greenhouses and nurseries now springing up, could potentially transform even the most arid regions in Oman.

The drip system utilises a piping network that is buried below ground level, enabling the farmer to cultivate his land without obstruction. The first stages in developing the system begins by

analysing the crops the farmer intends to produce.

This helps to fix the total water requirement for the crop at maturity and once this has been established, a complete land survey including soil and water analysis can be carried out. A grid is then designed to cover the entire cultivable area through a piping network, so that a farmer can irrigate his total crop by simply operating the pump to run for the desired irrigating cycle. One man can irrigate a nine hectare site in a matter of minutes.

All this can be seen at work at the Oman Cement Company's Housing Complex where a drip irrigation system to supply treated effluent to 18,000 square metres of planting is being speedily set up by OHI Agriculture, whose modern nursery at Rusail is buzzing with activity these days.

Set up less than a year ago, the nursery consists of 2,400 metres of shade cover, an environmentally controlled growing tunnel with an area of 400 square metres and a standing out area under sprinkler irrigation of 1,200 square metres.

The complex consists of three main units with varying levels of shade cover to grow plants right from the seed stage under controlled environmental conditions until it is ready for planting in the open.

PARIS PAPER INTERVIEWS YASIR 'ARAFAT

PM191221 Paris LE MATIN in French 17 Jan 84 p 11

[Interview with PLO Chairman Yasir 'Arafat by Charles Saint-prot (as printed)  
p-date and place not given]

[Text] LE MATIN: What do you expect from the Islamic summit in Casablanca?

Yasir 'Arafat: Unity, unity, and more unity in support of the Palestinian cause. I want this summit, which is taking place at a crucial time, to make it possible to increase aid to the PLO in all spheres and to more effectively coordinate the action of the Islamic states, especially with respect to the liberation of our holy place, the al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem. In addition I would like the Islamic summit to adopt measures likely to put an end to the tragic conflict between Iraq and Iran. That war is a tragedy for the Arab nation and the Islamic community. It is playing into the hands of our enemies when we need all our strength.

LE MATIN: Another essential stage will be the meeting of the Palestine National Council (parliament), if it is able to take place....

Yasir 'Arafat: The PNC will meet soon. The Executive Committee has taken a decision on that, and contacts have been established with the PNC bureau. In addition, I have just met with President Bendjedid, who assured me that Algeria is prepared to make every effort to ensure the smooth running of the meeting.

That meeting will be very important after everything the PLO has just suffered, and I hope that it will result in a renewed action by the resistance, in keeping with the wish of the 5 million Palestinians who are weary of various people's machinations.

LE MATIN: Do you think you will achieve unanimity?

Yasir 'Arafat: I have repeatedly stated that the PLO is a democracy. There is no unanimity in democratic regimes, it is the law of the majority which must be the rule. It may not be appropriate to systematically seek artificial compromises to secure an equally artificial unanimity which is often paralyzing. We should prefer to follow the decision of a democratic majority with a view to pursuing an effective, active, and positive policy.

LE MATIN: Are you prepared to run the risk of division rather than achieving a compromise with the dissidents?

Yasir 'Arafat: What do you mean by dissidents? It is time the facts were established. There has been too much talk about those so-called dissidents, as if they were a real and credible force.

LE MATIN: Is the dissidence over?

Yasir 'Arafat: It never really began. There were people who served as puppets for some Arab regimes in order to break the PLO as an independent force. Those people thought that a military coup backed up by the Syrians or others would enable them to seize control of the resistance. That was mistaken analysis, and the evidence I have received shows that our people support democratic legitimacy, from the occupied territories to our brothers living in Syria, where they had the bravery to demonstrate against the siege of Tripoli. That was a real referendum.

LE MATIN: Nonetheless there are movements within the PLO which do not seem prepared to follow the majority line.

Yasir 'Arafat: If they reject the democratic rule, that is their responsibility. I must say that I am deeply wounded by the attitude of George Habash, for instance, and especially by his silence when the Syrian regime's army was massacring our people in Tripoli. With regard to the attacks on the PLO leadership, you are well aware that they are not the first: It is always the same old story. When people talk about the possibility of a split within the resistance as if it were a new and extraordinary fact, I recall that some movements, especially the PFLP, have taken the responsibility of leaving PLO bodies in the past. At that time--as today--and with the same leaders, they tried to form a new organization; they failed and will fail again.

LE MATIN: Nevertheless, they accuse you of straying from this line....

Yasir 'Arafat: That really is the limit. Of what do they dare accuse me? Of having done my utmost to defend our resistance's independence and political autonomy? Of having devoted my life to the service of our people? Of having failed to remain silent when the Syrian regime tried to destroy our forces in Lebanon and to massacre our people in Tripoli? The Palestinian people know that the charges are unjust and that these sermonizers are less qualified than anyone to judge the PLO leadership.

LE MATIN: Nevertheless, you know that some observers claim that "out of realism" you would accept a solution of autonomy in the occupied territories....

Yasir 'Arafat: These observers, who are surely misinformed, must be left to indulge in their reckonings. Our position is clear; however, in line with the FES summit, we demand the Palestinian people's right to self-determination.

LE MATIN: What about your relations with Jordan?

Yasir 'Arafat" This is clear, too. The resolution issued by the PNC in Algiers envisages our directing our efforts toward a confederation between Jordan and Palestine.

LE MATIN: Following the seige of Beirut, from which France helped to salvage the PLO, you told me that you were expecting a French initiative. It did not materialize. What are you expecting from France following the seige of tripoli?

Yasir 'Arafat: First and foremost, I must express the Palestine people's profound gratitude to the French Government for its military protection during the evacuation of Tripoli and during the important event of the exchange of prisoners.

I believe that the French Government knows that there will be no lasting and just peace in the Near East without recognition of the Palestinians' rights and without the PLO's involvement in a process of negotiations. This is why I hope that France will draw the conclusions from this analysis.

LE MATIN: By receiving you officially?

Yasir 'Arafat: A visit by me to France and a meeting with President Francois Mitterrand would undoubtedly help the cause of peace. They would constitute an important initiative on the French Government's part, which would demonstrate that it does not hesitate to play a role in the Near East worthy of France's great traditions of justice and freedom.

CSO: 4400/138

COMMENTARY ON PLO'S INTERNATIONAL STATUS

JN152108 Baghdad Voice of PLO in Arabic 1605 GMT 15 Jan 84

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] Brothers, what will happen after Tripoli? This question has often been asked. Observers and analysts have asked themselves this question. They also asked this question of Brother Abu 'Ammar [Yasir 'Arafat] during the Tripoli siege. He answered it in a few words--a slogan that is close to the hearts of our people and revolutionaries. Abu 'Ammar said: It is a revolution unto victory. That short sentence indicated the future. It was a precise picture of what would happen. It is only fair to say that those who asked this question ranged from people who were sincerely concerned about the future of the Palestinian revolution, to those who were confused about the whole situation, and to others who were either short-sighted gloaters or sheer plotters.

Today, after the Tripoli phase and the sea journey, we ourselves ask this question. As in the past, we will try to answer this question on the basis of our analysis and precise knowledge of the course of our revolution and its ability as well as the competence of our leadership headed by Brother Abu 'Ammar. As in the past, our answer this time will be based on the events and their results. Those who wagered that our revolution would lose its position in the forefront of political and diplomatic events and that our news would disappear from the front pages of newspapers and be relegated to the internal pages have lost, and their conspiratorial efforts have failed. Even after its departure from Tripoli, our revolution led by our great leader Abu 'Ammar has continued to create news, and to be the focus of attention and the rallying point for the masses.

The international forces supporting our revolution and its leader have increased in number. We have as an example the PLO's relations with the friendly USSR. These relations continued to develop and grow with regard to assistance and support. Brother Abu 'Ammar's meetings with Soviet officials indicate that. The messages that have been exchanged at the summit level also indicate that. Brother Abu Mazin's recent visit to Moscow was not the last. The socialist bloc countries also continue to affirm that the PLO, headed by Brother Abu 'Ammar, is the sole legitimate representative of our people.

There are also indications that certain European states with international influence intend to recognize the PLO and to invite its leader to visit their capitals. Italy and France are initial examples. The statements recently made by British officials show a similar inclination. In addition to all that, the UN stands daily contain something new about the PLO's enhanced Arab and international status. If the results of the post-Tripoli phase are so impressive on the political and diplomatic level, the attitude of the world public toward the PLO is also equally impressive. This is what we detect in the foreign press, which carries the news comments and analytical reports on the PLO and its leader on its front pages.

Undoubtedly, this is not everything. It is only the beginning of the new phase. The failures and plotters, including regimes, traitors, and agents, had thought that their plot would cancel our people's history and struggle, which the PLO represents and embodies as a great heritage and a shining reality. They forgot, or pretended to forget, that the PLO, with its political weight and status, has inherited traditions and firm principles that no military or political plot can undermine. In short, we say that what will follow after all these phases--the Beirut phase, the Tripoli phase, and the post-Tripoli phase--is the victory that our leader Abu 'Ammar spoke about and that our people are creating daily through struggle. What we have written with blood cannot be cancelled by false ink, and what we have built by revolution cannot be destroyed by a plot. This is the great secret of the continuity of the revolution for the sake of our people's inalienable rights to self-determination and the establishment of the independent state on our national land--the land of the return.

CSO: 4400/138

PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

DFPL'S HAWATIMAH REJECTS 'ATTEMPT TO BREAK PLO'

PM151528 Algiers EL MOUDJAHID in French 9 Nov 83 p 7

[Interview with DFPL Secretary General Nayif Hawatimah by Maachou Blidi in Algiers--date not given]

[Excerpts] EL MOUDJAHID: Since the serious nature of the Fatah crisis became known, there has been a great deal of talk about democratic dialogue as a means of reducing disagreements. However, things have developed toward military escalation and fratricidal battles. How do you explain that?

Nayif Hawatimah: We think that dialogue and democratic forms of discussing problems are the surest and most mature way of solving the existing conflict. That is why, since the conflict started, we have constantly called for that dialogue to be opened instead of resorting to arms.

In the present crisis, which has come about in particularly difficult circumstances, some Arab capitals have been able to interfere in Fatah's internal affairs, and have succeeded in whipping up conflict and making it develop toward the violent and sustained confrontations whose results we are now seeing in northern Lebanon.

This has been made possible by the fact that dissident individual and group interests within Fatah coincide with the interests of a number of Arab regimes. In this context there is reason to wonder why one of two Arab capitals chose to show sympathy with those dissidents and why things became so complicated that the slide toward armed conflict affected not only the rival Fatah factions but also other organizations like As-Sa'iqah and the PFLP-General Command.

Thus the crisis has extended from the Palestinian institutions to grass roots level, to the Palestinian camps, as we now see from what is happening in the Al-Baddawi and Nahr al-Barid camps in northern Lebanon.

All this shows that the crisis is no longer part of a democratic reform within the Fatah institutions. There has been a slide which has not just made the conflict part of an attempt to dominate the whole of Fatah and its institutions and to draw the whole PLO onto a path which is not its own.

EL MOUDJAHID: Is there hope of solving the crisis after what has just happened in Tripoli?

Nayif Hawatimah: In fact the chances of settling the crisis by democratic dialogue have shrunk greatly following the violent clashes in northern Lebanon. But at the same time we know that it is impossible to solve anything in the ranks of the Palestinian revolution by resorting to arms. We are a people scattered among occupied Palestine, the territories invaded in 1967, and around 50 countries throughout the world. Thus it is not possible for anybody to impose his will on the Palestinian people by military force. The best way of solving the Palestinian problems is still by using the legal institutions with which the Palestinian people have provided themselves. On the basis of that conviction we are on the point of convening the PLO Executive Committee and the Central Council with a view to preparing for the holding of a Palestine National Council meeting to solve the crisis by adopting a series of measures decided by the Palestinians.

The lawful Palestinian institutions will now have to study Arab-Palestinian relations and seriously determine their future forms. This question will also be referred to the next Arab summit conference. But, for our part, we say in advance that we could not have relations with any Arab capital which did not respect the independence of Palestinian national decisionmaking and its commitment to decisions previously taken by various Arab summits.

AL MOUDJAHID: If the present conflict were to last, what effects do you think it would have on the future of the Palestinian cause?

Nayif Hawatimah: What is now happening is a self-destruction operation. In addition, trying to eliminate the Palestinians using Palestinians is no new phenomenon. The aim now is the destruction of the PLO's unity with a view to stripping our people of the organizational framework which defines their national and political relationships and their own personality.

In addition, in another respect, the PLO's destruction is the goal sought by American imperialism and Israel. Remember the crises of Reagan and Shultz after the failure of the preliminary talks between 'Arafat and King Husayn-- they immediately asked certain Arab countries to ignore the PLO and disregard its representative nature.

What is happening now obviously directly helps the American-Zionist plan aimed at putting the PLO out of the running and making people forget the Palestinian people's national rights.

The essential forces of the Palestinian revolution and of the PLO, especially Fatah, the DFLP, and the PFLP, will not allow the present destruction operation to be continued. Whatever the result of the present confrontations in northern Lebanon, the attempt to break the PLO will not succeed and we will not allow the creation of a new organization serving new, non-Palestinian political lines.

On the basis of collegiality and a broad, democratic reform of our institutions, the Palestinian revolution can hope to emerge from the tunnel rapidly. History will not end with the unfortunate events we are now experiencing.

## PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

### PNC SECRETARY INTERVIEWED ON PLO CRISIS, REGIONAL ISSUES

NC251356 Cairo MENA in Arabic 1005 GMT 25 Nov 83

[Excerpts] Cairo, 25 November (MENA)--PNC Secretary Muhammad Subayh has called for immediately convening an Arab summit conference to be attended by all Arab countries. The conference should take decisive steps to naturalize inter-Arab relations and ensure a real Arab solidarity which safeguards the Arab nations against current threats.

In an interview with MENA, the Palestinian official said that Egypt's absence from Arab ranks was an anomaly that should be terminated--the Arab nation has had enough troubles and catastrophies because of this absence.

Subayh commented on the PLO internal crisis, which was precipitated by the Syrian-Libyan military and political intervention aiming at swallowing the role of the PLO and its legitimate leadership. He said that the PLO's political makeup does not depend on a specific geographical location; the PLO reflects the aspirations of the Palestinian people everywhere. The Tripoli confrontations represent a very limited problem for the PLO because Tripoli lies in an area of Syrian military influence. Departure from Tripoli does not mean a retreat or a disintegration of the PLO.

On the contrary, Mr Sabayh added, Tripoli's incidents have acted as a popular plebiscite which restated the legitimacy of the PLO and confirmed the loyalty of the Palestinian people, in the occupied territory and elsewhere, to its elected national leadership as represented by Yasir 'Arafat, the chairman of the PLO's Executive Committee.

Syria has always contrived to drive a wedge into the national liberation organization, Fatah, the largest Palestinian guerrilla group. The practical steps for implementing these designs, Subayh said, began in the aftermath of the departure of the Palestinian forces from Beirut. The Palestinian forces have attracted world-wide attention for their valor following the longest Arab-Israeli military confrontation.

The PNC secretary said: Syria has taken advantage of the presence of groups of our people and political and military institutions inside its territories. Syria uses them as a hostage to usurp our independence and free will. It managed to impose the logic of the status quo on several hundreds of our fighters and to infiltrate some suspect cadres known for their loyalty to the Syrian organs in order to carry out its subversive designs.

The PNC secretary explained the real intentions behind Syria's designs to sow dissension within the Palestinian ranks and to boost this dissension vis-a-vis the Palestinian legitimacy. He said that Syria is keen on letting the United States understand, one way or the other, that the PLO is under the Syrian cloak and not outside it; and that Syria, therefore, can use the Palestinian card whenever it wants and in the way supportive to its negotiating position regardless of whether this suits the Palestinian will.

The PLO does not, and cannot accept handing over its decisionmaking to the Syrians. The Syrians have considered 'Arafat's visit to Austria and the founding of PLO's representation in France and Italy as conspiracies. They have condemned the Palestinian moves and 'Arafat's delivery of his historic speech in the United Nations. The Syrians are now trying to seek justification [for their policy] by saying that 'Arafat is seeking U.S. recognition at any price so that he can accept a U.S.-Israeli settlement of the Palestinian issue.

These allegations, Subayh said, are untrue. The U.S. Administration is still maintaining its anti-PLO stance and the PLO, on its part, is not conducting any contacts with the United States; this despite the fact that the PLO believes establishing a dialogue with the U.S. side is one of its basic rights.

Speaking about Palestinian-Jordanian relations the PNC secretary said: Syria has no right to reject our right to dialogue with Jordan. We went to Jordan with a Syrian initiative during the phase of Syrian-Jordanian coordination. We had our own reasons because we have a special relationship with Jordan, particularly since a large number of our people live there. Moreover, Jordan is the gate to the occupied West Bank and the Gaza Strip where our kinfolk live after the fire of the Israeli occupation, and where they are exposed to torture and Judaization, and, therefore, are in need of support and attention.

The Palestinian official continued: In any case, a distinguished relation will continue to bind us to Jordan. The recent PNC resolution is clear and stipulates the establishment of a confederal union between Jordan and an independent Palestinian state. Therefore, contacts and a permanent dialogue are necessary for studying these conditions with the Jordanian Government. It is our right not to allow any inter-Arab dispute to affect our movement. We reject tutelage, but we need Arab support from all the Arab powers; this does not mean that our relations must oscillate in line with the Syrian position.

Speaking about Palestinian-Egyptian relations Muhammad Subayh affirmed that Palestinian-Egyptian contacts and understanding are taking place in a direct manner and will continue in the interest of the Arab cause.

Speaking about the PLO's internal conditions in the wake of Syrian siege of Tripoli, Subayh said that he expects that an extraordinary meeting of the PNC will be held to discuss the effects of the siege and the Palestinian-Arab [word indistinct] as well as its negative effects on the Palestinian reputation and the unique opportunities it had made available to our enemies.

On the exchange of Lebanese and Palestinian prisoners in Ansar Camp in Southern Lebanon for Israeli prisoners, Subayh said: This operation indicates that the

legitimate Palestinian leadership, while living through the gloomiest moment of confrontation in tripoli, can still tackle its duties concerning the Palestinians and Lebanese detained in southern Lebanon and in Israeli prisons, and to regain the archives of the Palestinian research center which was looted by the Israelis when they entered Beirut. The Palestinian people appreciate this action and consider it a new prestige to brother Yasir 'Arafat who honors his responsibility in all circumstances.

CSO: 4400/138

INTERVIEW WITH ANTI-'ARAFAT REBEL SPOKESMAN

AU121451 Vienna Television Service in German 2102 GMT 11 Nov 83

[Interview given by Mahmud al-Labadi, "spokesman of the PLO rebels against 'Arafat" at Damascus headquarters of the anti-'Arafat opposition, no date given--recorded in German]

[Text] [Labadi] Our struggle against 'Arafat is actually not a military but a political struggle. And that is why we are not really interested in inflicting a military defeat on him. To us, if he is gone from the refugee camps, it means that he has lost a great deal, it means that he is no longer the uncontested leader of the PLO.

[Fitzhum] What actually do you specifically hold against the current PLO chief 'Arafat, and what fault do you find with his political line?

[Labadi] Specifically, the issue at stake is reforms, financial reforms. We are against corruption, we are against personal enrichment. What we want is organizational reforms. We are for a tighter, more efficient organization. We want good cadres, good men, strong men, intelligent men, honest men, and so forth, and not this clique that is around him now, a clique of opportunists and so forth, and thieves and the like. At the political level, we want the line of Fatah to be maintained, the line of continuous resistance against the Israeli occupation. 'Arafat has given it up. He has put too high of stakes on the Americans, he relied too much on the Americans, and eventually the Americans have given him nothing, and the Israelis are building more and more settlements in the occupied areas. In other words, there is no hope for a political settlement in the Middle East as long as the Americans continue to pursue this policy. Thus, why should we continue to rely on the Americans and why should we continue to make concessions without getting anything in return? All these are demands which we have submitted, which we publicly declared, but 'Arafat wanted to continue the old line. But the old line no longer works and no longer functions, especially after the exit from Beirut.

As long as we were still in Beirut, we could perhaps forgive things a little, forgive the corruption a little, we could forgive all the deviations. But after Beirut we can no longer forgive that, we can no longer put up with it. And this is why the demands are more urgent than ever before--more urgent than before, because the time has come to implement the reforms. These are the demands of the majority of our members, the majority of the fighters and the cadres of the Palestinian revolution.

[Fitzhum] Mr Labadi, the way you describe the situation it actually shows a dreadful picture of the PLO in the past few years: You speak of corruption, of thieves and the like. This gives rise to the question why nothing was done about this before, why did not a movement develop earlier, and why were there no controversies at the Algiers National Congress in this respect?

[Labadi] This is not the first time that a rebellion has taken place against 'Arafat's policy. This is the fourth, fifth or sixth rebellion, and all these earlier rebellions were suppressed by force of arms. But now he was no longer able to do that. Why did we remain silent all this time? We always said that the time would come for us to hold a conference and to bring about reforms. But he did not want to convene a conference. And then we said--well, if the national congress will be held in Algiers, perhaps there something will take place at the PLO levels. But, nevertheless, 'Arafat did not want to carry out any reform and he always wanted to continue his old line, his policy, with the same corrupt figures. And this was of course too much. This was unbearable for us. It was unbearable for the fighters. This is why the rebellion has broken out.

[Fitzhum] Mr Labadi, let us talk about the role of Syria: One has the impression that the rebels are getting a great deal of aid from Syria, and that they might become dependent on Syria.

[Labadi] Well, these are only excuses that are to serve as a smokescreen for covering up 'Arafat's guilt and sins. Naturally, he must always criticize and attack the others. This will not get him anywhere. Whether or not the Syrians support us--we are for reforms. Whether the Lord is for us or against us--we are for reforms. Our reforms are just, and ours is a just cause. We are for justice at all levels. We are for justice throughout the world. And ours is a just cause, and Arafat has truly made mistakes, and he should admit that.

[Fitzhum] But is there not, nevertheless, a danger of a split in the PLO, possibly into one Syrian, more radical group and another group supported by Saudi Arabia, Jordan, and Egypt, with 'Arafat?

[Labadi] No, there is no such possibility. We will maintain the PLO's unity. The PLO will be one PLO and not two, and Fatah will be one Fatah and not two--we are against splitting, and we will fight against splitting. No force in the world can split the PLO and the just cause of the Palestinians.

[Fitzhum] Where do you see 'Arafat's future? What will happen to him, in your opinion?

[Labadi] Well, we are not against him personally, we are not against persons, we are against a style, we are against methods, we are for political reforms and so forth, and against deviations, and we are not against 'Arafat, personally.

[Fitzhum] One last question, Mr Labadi: Can the PLO after all these events still be a political factor at all in the Middle East, a factor that has to be taken seriously?

[Labadi] Now listen: It is, I believe, a recognized fact, also in the international arena--without Palestinians, there can be no peace in the Middle East. Without settlement of the Palestinian question there can be no peace in the Middle East. And the Palestinians will always remain in the Middle East. They will not be exterminated. We are not the Red Indians. And we are the most important factor for a just and lasting peace. Without us there can be no peace, no justice, in the Middle East. Therefore, we appeal to the entire world public to recognize this fact. The Palestinians are here. The PLO continues to be their representative, and we will continue our resistance until we obtain our rights. We actually have no other choice.

CSO: 4400/138

DUBAYY-SOVIET TRADE RELATIONS

Dubayy KHALEEJ TIMES in English 7 Dec 83 p 17

[Text]

OFFICIALS of the Dubai chamber of commerce yesterday told a Soviet trade delegation now in the UAE that the local market is equally open to products both from the East and the West.

Mr Thani Rashid Al Matrooshi, a member of the chamber's board of directors, presided over the meeting with the mission led by Mr N.E. Mardoniev, vice president of the Soviet chamber of commerce. The six-member group includes an official of the Soviet Foreign Ministry.

"We follow a policy of free trade and consequently the opportunity is wide open for any commodity that can prove itself in the market both in terms of quality and price," Mr Matrooshi said.

Dubai businessmen, he said, were looking forward to better trade ties with the Soviet Union and pledged the chamber's support to efforts in this direction.

Mr Mardoniev spoke about the possibilities of improved commercial ties and the chances of exporting more Soviet goods to Dubai.

Recent trade figures, however, show a steady decline in Dubai-Soviet trade. From Dh 15.78 million in 1980, export of Soviet goods declined to Dh 13.11 million in 1981 and further to Dh 7.86 million last year.

During the first half of this year, only goods worth Dh 277,284 came into the Emirate from the USSR.

The mission, which has already held talks in Sharjah, is hoping to give a boost to bilateral trade.

CSO: 4400/130

## PUBLIC EMPLOYEES RECEIVE TERMINATION NOTICES

Dubayy KHALEEJ TIMES in English 14 Nov 83 p 1

[Text]

DOHA — Employees in several ministries here started receiving termination notices this week, informed sources said yesterday. According to the employees deemed redundant, the lists of those to be retrenched had been submitted by the ministries to the personnel section in the Finance Ministry in early October.

The lists, with the approval of the personnel section, were back with the concerned ministries and they in turn have commenced issuing notices. In some cases, employees have received a month's notice.

Shaikh Abdulaziz bin Khalifa Al Thani, Minister of Finance and Petroleum, told some British newsmen recently in a televised interview that the total number of government employees likely to be relieved of their jobs was 3,000. He added that he could not say when exactly they would have to leave their service.

In earlier interviews, the minister had made it clear that according to sound management principles, the government would have to reduce the staff strength in line with its measures to cut down on spending. The minister, replying to a question from the British Press, also said retrenchment was not restricted to any particular group of the expatriate community.

Meanwhile, the local Arabic paper, Arrayah, reported yesterday that government was reviving a scheme to issue identity cards to all foreigners, which they must have on their person at all times. This was said to be part of a general crackdown on illegal immigrants. The government fears that following retrenchment in the ministries and on a large scale in the private sector, several expatriate with no jobs and residence permits might linger on hoping to get an opportunity.

The paper also said stricter checks would be made on offices to scrutinise the sponsorship papers to discourage anyone being employed without per-

mit. In earlier reports, Shaikh Khalid bin Hamad Al Thani, Minister of Interior, had warned the violation of residence permit laws was on the increase. In an Interior Ministry announcement of the existing rules, it was pointed out that the violation of the rule that permits anyone to stay only for 72 hours in the country was liable to a fine of QR 500 for every 24 hours of illegal stay.

Every month of delay in renewing permits means a fine of QR 300. A similar amount will be fined for every month of delay after the time set for obtaining a residence permit.

An illegal entrant into the country can be fined up to QR 4,500 the announcement said. Those who work for employers other than their sponsors are also liable to this hefty fine.

A company sponsor who allows its men to work for others, or employs those other than on its own list, is liable to a fine of QR 9,000. If it is an individual sponsor, the offenses call for a fine of QR 4,500.

CSO: 4400/130

KABUL FORCES CAPTURE 210 'REBELS'

Penang THE STAR in English 31 Dec 83 p 14

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, Fri. — Afghan security forces have captured 210 anti-government rebels who were among 700 defeated in an encounter in a province bordering the Soviet Union, State-run Radio Kabul reported yesterday.

The radio said the forces also captured 135 weapons of Egyptian, Chinese and Pakistani makes in the encounter in Zebak sub-district of the northern Badakhshan province. It did not say when the encounter took place.

The radio identified the leader of the group as Maulvi Mahdi. It described his members as a band of "Ittehad-i-Islami" but did not make clear if by this it meant Ittehad-i-Islami Afghan Mujahideen (Islamic fighters), a Pakistan-based alliance of three resistance groups fighting Soviet troops and the Soviet-backed government in Afghanistan.

Radio Kabul also said security forces this week defeated a rebel group in Balkh province bordering the Soviet Union and another in Herat province bordering Iran.

A group of 40 rebels was captured in the Balkh district of Balkh province, the radio said. — Reuter.

'REBELS' CAPTURE KHYBER PASS POST

Penang THE STAR in English 21 Dec 83 p 13

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, Tues. — Afghan rebels captured a border post in the Khyber Pass yesterday in an operation which provoked government air strikes in the area, resistance sources in neighbouring Pakistan reported.

The sources said the post at Torkham, housing Customs staff and troops on the border with Pakistan, was attacked with rockets and small arms on Sunday and taken yesterday.

"The place is captured and we have it in our hands right now," a spokesman for the National Liberation Front resistance group said.

The sources said the attack closed the road between Afghanistan and Pakistan from noon on Sunday.

Twelve government troops were killed and three captured in the fighting and five resistance fighters wounded, the sources added.

They gave no estimate of casualties in retaliatory government air strikes which they said were carried out by jet aircraft and helicopters.

Western diplomats in Islamabad reported earlier this month that the Afghan Government appeared to be losing control over the highway between Torkham and Jalalabad, capital of the country's Nangarhar province. — Reuters.

# ARTICLE EXAMINES MUJAHIDIN INABILITY TO DRIVE SOVIETS OUT

Kuala Lumpur BUSINESS TIMES in English 21 Dec 83 p 21

[Article by Tom Heneghan]

[Text]

THE war in Afghanistan goes into its fifth year later this month with the Muslim guerillas improving their tactics but still unable to drive Soviet troops out of their country.

The guerillas' growing military experience has pushed the Russians, who intervened in Kabul on Dec. 27, 1979, to prop up a crumbling communist government, into adopting a more defensive military strategy over the past year.

But Moscow, which by mid-January will have been fighting the Afghans longer than it fought the Nazis in World War II, shows no sign of withdrawing its 105,000 troops. Hopes for a political settlement, fanned by United Nations-sponsored talks last spring, have faded.

"We could be in for a very long war," said a Kabul intellectual here, one of about three million Afghans who have taken refuge in Pakistan since Moscow began its first occupation of a country outside the Warsaw Pact.

The Russians still hold the upper hand militarily thanks to their supremacy in the air and the squabbling disunity plaguing the resistance, according to guerilla groups based in this rough-and-ready frontier city and Western diplomats following the war from Islamabad.

The guerillas, who call themselves Mujaheddin (Islamic warriors), are getting better at shooting down low-flying fighters and helicopter gunships with heavy Dushika machine guns, the diplomats said.

They have recently started using a few Sam-7 surface-to-air missiles — military analysts here say they suspect they come from Egypt — to knock out at least one helicopter so far and force pilots to fly higher and less effective sorties.

But Afghanistan is still a guerilla war, the exiles and diplomats stressed, and brute force is only one of many factors in the struggle for the rugged mountainous country.

Over the past year, rival guerilla groups in Northern and Eastern Afghanistan have begun coordinating their attacks on Soviet bases and convoys and establishing their own bases and secure supply lines.

"The Mujaheddin are getting better at picking out the sensitive targets in the cities and pushing the Russians onto the defensive," added a Western diplomat with access to information from his embassy in Kabul.

For their part, the Russians, whose troops outnumber the depleted Afghan army by more than 24 to one, depend more on air and artillery attacks on villages to retaliate for guerilla action. This cautious approach keeps their casualties low but increases the number of innocent civilians killed, the diplomats said.

## Strategy

Western journalists and academics trekking with the Mujaheddin through Afghanistan also report the Soviets are turning more to infiltration, rumour mongering and paid assassinations to try to increase the natural disorganisation of the resistance.

The emerging guerilla unity in the strategic northern provinces bordering on the Soviet Union illustrates the changing tactics of both sides.

Although nominally grouped into two Peshawar-based alliances, the resistance is actually a motley collection of over a dozen parties divided among the majority Pashtu and the Persian-speaking minority, Islamic revolutionaries and traditional Muslim clergy, Westernised intellectuals and flinty tribesmen.

Ahmad Shah Masood, a 30-year old commander who has repelled six Soviet offensives in his Panjsher Valley stronghold north of Kabul, has over the past year persuaded most northern commanders to join hands in a coordinated fight against the Russians.

But his strategy, a far cry from the hit-and-miss *jihad* (holy war) the guerillas waged early on in their struggle against the Soviet-backed government of President Babrak Karmal, has been overshadowed by doubts about a six-month truce he made with the Soviets this spring.

Masood's Jamiat-I-Islami Party here argues he needed time to rebuild his forces, consult other commanders and send about 1,500 Panjsheri guerillas to other areas.

But a rival commander sneered: "If he does not fight, he is not a man. Or maybe he is the Russians' man."

Most Western diplomats suspect Moscow was hoping for another squabble like this when it offered the truce.

Peace in the Panjsher, which starts only 90 kms (55 miles) north of Kabul, also opened the door to government spies to the resistance's most sophisticated military bases there.

Better resistance tactics showed this summer in Eastern Afghanistan when rival groups got together to besiege three strategic towns controlling guerilla supply routes from Pakistan into Central Afghanistan.

First the guerillas decimated the Afghan army's elite 38th Commando Brigade sent in in May to flush them out of the area around Urgan, near the Pakistan border.

The four groups then slowly moved in on Urgan and Khost — only the main garrisons there remain in government hands — and took a third town, Jaji.

Starting last year's anniversary, when Peshawar-based guerillas pounded Kabul and knocked out electricity supplies for several weeks, the Mujaheddin have been more selective — and more daring — in hitting strategic targets in major cities.

## Peace talks

Extra-tight security in recent months has brought relative safety to Kabul, where many party officials have transferred their families from the more dangerous provinces, but government control is reported to be shaky in cities like Mazar-I-Sharif in the north, Herat in the west and Kandahar in the south.

Zahir Shah, the 69-year old ex-king who ruled Afghanistan for 40 years before being overthrown in 1973, began a campaign last summer from exile in Rome to unite the resistance, but diplomats give it little hope of success.

Besides being a controversial figure himself — many Afghans accuse him of opening the door to Soviet infiltration back in the 1950s — his plan aims to find a representative of the people for UN-sponsored peace talks which have since run aground.

Pakistan and Afghanistan have held three indirect meetings, through a UN intermediary, to discuss a full troop withdrawal and return of refugees.

But they foundered last June when Moscow insisted on international guarantees for the agreement but failed to produce a timetable for a troop pullout.

During the UN General Assembly session in New York, both sides expressed the will to resume the talks but no date has been set for Diego Cordovez, the personal representative of Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar, to visit Islamabad, Kabul and Teheran to prepare another round.

Little has changed on the domestic political scene for Babrak Karmal and his deeply divided Communist Party.

Top officials rarely venture out into the provinces (the few who do often come under guerilla fire) and a Karmal walk-about in Kabul in September was so rare it was highlighted in the government-controlled media for days.

Disputes, fistfights and even shooting incidents have continued between Mr Karmal's staunchly pro-Moscow Parcham (flag) faction, which holds most key party and government posts, and the larger, more nationalist Khalq (masses) faction, both exile and diplomatic sources report.

Diplomats say the army is now taking men above and below its 19-to-40 age limits, keeping soldiers in beyond their three-year tours of duty and drafting men despite exemptions for family hardships or previous service.

Ironically, the stepped-up conscription drive helped lead to the near total collapse of Kabul's control in eastern towns like Khost and Urgan, traditional strongholds of the Khalq's army cadres, Afghan sources here pointed out.

The government's decision to draft local tribesmen, who until then had been exempt and were paid handsome sums to try to prevent guerillas from crossing their territory, led many of them to simply desert their military posts and go over to the Mujaheddin, or simply pack up for Pakistan. — Reuter

ARTICLE EXAMINES SITUATION IN COUNTRY AFTER 4 YEARS OF WAR

Penang THE STAR in English 29 Dec 83 p 14

[Text]

**PESHAWAR, Pakistan, Tues.** — The Afghan resistance fighters known as Mujahideen, bolder and more determined but still divided, completed today four years of war against Soviet troops occupying Afghanistan.

Leaders of rival resistance groups in Peshawar, a listening post and supply centre 36km from the Afghanistan border, promised a dramatic assault today to mark the fourth anniversary of the Soviet-backed rule of President Babrak Karmal.

Mr Babrak, supported by the invading Soviet troops, took power after the ouster and execution of President Hafizullah Amin on Dec. 27, 1979.

The Mujahideen (Freedom Fighter), have scored notable gains during the past year in military effectiveness. But so have the Soviets.

The resistance has steadily increased its control over the countryside and has repeatedly launched daring attacks on the capital of Kabul, a Soviet stronghold. Occasionally armed with heat-seeking missiles, the Mujahideen also have knocked down dozens of Soviet helicopters and warplanes in recent months.

But the Soviets, with their overwhelming air power, have punished the resistance fighters with strafing and bombing. The Soviets' reprisal strategy has reportedly led to the destruction of villages and crops as well as the deaths of thousands of civilians.

Meanwhile, nearly 3 million Afghan refugees are camped in Pakistan and another million have fled to Iran, adding up to one-quarter of Afghanistan's pre-1979 population.

Hopes for a negotiated settlement seem as remote as ever despite efforts by the United Nations to achieve withdrawal of Soviet forces, return of the refugees and an end to the resistance.

In fact, Mujahideen leaders insist that Soviet troop strength in Afghanistan has been increased by 25,000 in recent weeks, although Western diplomats believe Soviet forces still number only the 105,000 that are believed to have been in the country for sometime.

Resistance leaders say they have decided to meet the Soviet troop increase with their own armed response, in line with the Afghan saying that "a bad mouth can only be silenced by a strong fist."

One of the leaders, Qari Taj Mohammed, a battlefield commander in the Revolutionary Islamic Alliance, acknowledged that Soviet air attacks and the onset of winter have put his fighters on the defensive. A burly, black-bearded man in olive-drab clothing, he said he is short of arms, ammunition, food and medical supplies as well as trained soldiers.

"When we capture a tank, we have no people trained to use it," he said in an interview.

But Qari Taj Mohammed, who has been fighting the Kabul regime since the

communist takeover, insisted that he will never lose hope, saying: "As long as the country is not liberated, or I am not killed, I will go on."

He came to Peshawar, headquarters for the six major Mujahideen groups, to acquire more arms. The weapons are reportedly supplied by Egypt, China and the United States with the silent blessing of Pakistan.

Despite the complaints of weapons shortages, there is wide agreement among the Mujahideen that they have been better equipped in 1983 than at any time since the uprising began.

"In the last six months, our resistance was very good," said Yunus Khalis, who claims to have 15,000 armed men under his command. Khalis, a red-bearded Islamic scholar who wears a pistol and a cartridge belt over his left shoulder, acknowledged that internal power-grabbing moves in the past had created a "big problem" for the resistance movement.

Similarly, the Soviets have been plagued by divi-

sions within the Afghan Government's military forces. Desertions of soldiers to the Mujahideen have been increasing, resulting in a conscription system of all males — from boys in their mid-teens to men in their mid-40s — into the army.

Western diplomats have said that Soviet combat deaths have probably remained steady at about 1,000 to 1,500 a year despite

the stepped-up harassment by the resistance.

In an effort to halt their own power struggles, the moderate alliance of Mujahideen recently backed a move for a united front to consolidate political and military resistance.

The former King of Afghanistan, Mohammed Zahir Shah, supported the move to call a National Assembly with all opponents of the Kabul Regime represented, perhaps to set up a government within an area of Afghanistan controlled by the resistance. However, the move drew sharp opposition from Islamic fundamentalist groups, which suspect the king's motives even though he said he does not wish to return to power.

"We have stopped the Soviets now," said Abdul Rahim, political officer of the Islamic Assembly of Afghanistan. "It is too late for the king. ... He was asleep for three or four years."

Despite this disarray among the Peshawar-based resistance leaders, there has been greater co-operation among military commanders inside Afghanistan.

Mujahideen forces fought off an assault not long ago by about 10,000 Soviet and Afghan Government troops in Paktia and Paktika provinces, which border Pakistan and provide the main route for supplies going to resistance units, western diplomats said.

In Kabul, there were heavy attacks on such well-defended targets as the Soviet Embassy, the offices of Radio Afghanistan, a Soviet

residential complex and the Soviet-manned Bala Hissar Fortress.

One resistance leader, Ahmad Shah Massoud, has taken a leading role in planning larger and better coordinated assaults. Massoud, a French-educated engineer in his mid-30, arranged a controversial truce with the Soviets in the Panjshir valley but it enabled him to divert his troops elsewhere and provide additional training.

"A strong movement towards internal unity (of the Mujahideen) is becoming increasingly evident," Sayd Majrooh wrote in the latest issue of the Afghan information centre's bulletin.

Other resistance sources acknowledged, however, that some groups inside Afghanistan have actually fought each other rather than the Soviets and Afghan Government troops.

In its latest review of the situation, the US State Department said neither a political nor a military solution seemed likely in the near future. "The Afghan resistance shows no sign of weakening or loss of popular support," the department said.

But it added a sobering note: "The Soviet Union appears committed to a strategy of attempting to wear down the resistance militarily, gaining control of urban areas, and remodeling the Afghan political and social structure in its own image."

As a Western diplomat said in Peshawar: "No one feels this problem is going away." — LAT-WP

# PAPER PREDICTS 'REAGAN MIGHT HAVE CARTER'S FATE'

Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 9 Jan 84 p 1

[Text]

TEHRAN—Islamic Revolutionary Guard, Hussein Abbasi was buried with full honors at Beheshte Zahara, the capital's cemetery yesterday. He was the victim of the ruthless US connived Zionist bombing of Baalbek in Lebanon.

The objective of the bombing was ostensibly to hurt the Islamic Republic of Iran which has stationed combatants there and also to stifle the rising tide of Shiite and other Moslem opposition which resists consistently to prevent the partitioning of South Lebanon and the creation of another US client state dominated by Christian Maronites against the wishes of the majority Moslem population there.

However, a large number of Lebanese civilians have been martyred or wounded as a result of the raids which have had little effect in hitting at the actual revolutionary combatant positions.

Officials here see the wide publicity given to the raid and the blown-up casualty figures, which put the dead at over 100, as an attempt to demoralize the Moslem opposition to the US-Zionist intrusions into Lebanon.

The US, these officials say, have attempted to disguise their real motives for their intrusions into South Lebanon in particular by claiming an altruistic peace keeping role in the region. If they are sincere in their motives then why does the US not support outright the Palestinian cause, instead of making the issue a pawn in an elaborate Middle East political game, these officials ask.

Further they find that the US role is incompatible with support for terrorists like Begin at first and now Shamir.

In Lebanon, they say that though the prime minister is a Moslem, he is a mere constitutional figure-head and executive power rests with the president, who according to the constitution of that country should always be a Maronite Christian.

They say that this position is incompatible with the presence of a majority Moslem population in that nation, who are now fighting for their rights.

The officials further allege that several Moslem client states of the US in the region, particularly the Arab states, have given their tacit approval

to whatever is being done in South Lebanon and this is apparent in the face of their actual refusal to join forces with the Moslems who are fighting the cause of the Moslem people there.

The Reagan Administration has in recent months increased its support for pro-US regimes like Saudi Arabia, other Middle East Persian Gulf states, Jordan and Egypt among others.

A recent development has also been the overt moves by the US to resume diplomatic relations with the Iraqi regime which it had isolated and shunned as a Soviet - Communist client state. The moves are interpreted as nothing less than a fear of the expanding influence of the Islamic Republic with the Moslem people of the region and in Lebanon.

An increase in covert US operations has also been seen to destabilize anti-US governments like Syria, Libya and the Islamic Republic of Iran among others in the non-Western world.

The US tendency for the US to ride high as a domineering power both in the Middle East and other parts of the world has seen a marked increase since US President Ronald Reagan took office.

The US Administration in order to support repression of those claiming their legitimate rights in their own nations has boosted significantly its arms spending of which the recipi-

ents are to be found in marked numbers among the Persian Gulf states among others.

The US has increased by some 30 to 35 billion dollars its defense spending budget which earlier stood at US \$ 190 billion. Arms sales are expected to reach a record high this year.

Officials and political observers here are of the opinion that the increased US restiveness has also to be accounted for from the fact that the Islamic Republic of Iran has unrelentingly opposed US moves here. In fact Iran, they say has proved that the US and the Superpowers in general can be defied. They cite the fact that a most likely reason for the fall of the Carter Administration in the US had a great deal to do with the "hostage crisis" in Iran.

They conclude that although the scenario in the Middle East today appears rather dismal, there is a ray of hope in the fact that the Islamic Republic of Iran is unswerving in the line that it takes while resisting to whatsoever that counters Islamic ideology upheld by it. They feel too that Reagan like Carter may very well take a fall from which he will not be able to arise even though he seems to be riding the crest of a wave just now.

# PRESIDENT RESPONDS TO QUESTIONS POSED BY FOREIGN JOURNALISTS

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 12 Nov 83 p 3

[Press conference of President Khamene'i in the Presidential Building; date not specified]

[Text] Hojjat ol-Eslam va Al-Moslemin Sayyed 'Ali Khamene'i, president and chief of the Supreme Defense Council, held a press conference at the Presidential Building in which he answered questions by foreign press and mass media correspondents who were in Tehran at the invitation of the Ministry of Islamic Guidance. Khamene'i answered questions concerning the closing of the Strait of Hormuz, the probability of U.S. military intervention, the imposed war and the so-called peace-seeking efforts of various countries and world organizations, the future for political relations between Iran and the United States, Iran's relations with African and Southeast Asian countries, and the other matters including domestic issues and the coming Majlis elections.

Khamene'i first gave a short speech in which he welcomed the foreign correspondents to Iran, and added: Most of the truth of what has taken place in our country in the years after the revolution has not been told to the world's people. We consider this part of a vast struggle by the world's big powers against the Islamic revolution and our people. I say to you, our distinguished audience, that the failure to accurately reflect the news from a country that has carried out one of the greatest revolutions in history and to reflect the important, noteworthy and decisive events taking place there harms the world's people and the process of developing public opinion. Humanity is one great family, and an event or occurrence in any part of that great family has an effect and importance for the totality.

If selfishness, policies affiliated with those of the big powers and spitefulness prevent the description of the situation of one group of people to the whole world, this harms not only that particular group of people but even more so the whole human family.

According to the report by IRNA's correspondents, the president then answered questions by the foreign correspondents.

## Military Bases in Oman

Question from the Belgian newspaper DE MORGEN: What is your view on the development of military bases in Oman? Is the United States making preparations for a direct military attack or assault on Iran?

President's answer: For some time various voices and tongues have tried to bring to our ears the probability of direct military intervention by the United States in this region.

We consider such a thing extremely unlikely. We believe that the U.S. political and military apparatus has enough sense to know that kindling a war in this region means the extinguishing of petroleum's flame to the world. It seems unlikely that the United States, which has constructed a glass house in the Persian Gulf, would be ready to throw stones or engage in a stonethrowing contest with anyone. We believe that the Persian Gulf belongs to the countries existing in this strategically important territory, and that no foreign power has the right to interfere in Persian Gulf affairs, and above all else, has no right to intervene militarily. In any case, we are prepared to resist any such improbable aggression.

## Improving Relations with the United States!

Question from the U.S. WALL STREET JOURNAL: Do you see any conditions whatever of improving relations with the United States?

Answer: As long as the United States is present in the world in the form of a superpower, there is no hope whatsoever for our future political relations with that country.

## Action by Armed Forces

Question from REUTER: On 27 September 1983 the president announced that Iran threatens that the Armed Forces of the Islamic Republic of Iran would act to prevent the arrival of ships carrying weapons for Iraq. From that date to the present have the Iranian armed forces taken such an action?

President's answer: We have the necessary preparedness to do what we promised. But we also have the necessary restraint to wait until we have conclusive proof before taking action.

## War and Peace-Seeking Efforts!

Question from Zaire correspondent: Mr President, in reference to the Iran-Iraq war, after three years countries and international organizations are continuing to ask for a peaceful solution and the opening of negotiations. What is your final policy in this regard?

Answer: Some of these countries and organizations that you have mentioned are actually fanning the flames of war while at the same time speaking about peace. Among those countries I mention France, which has expended 40 percent of its

weapons production on Iraq despite the creation of interest in peace in the region. Among the organizations, I point to the United Nations and the UN Security Council, which have chosen silence and an encouraging indifference in face of the all-out assault by ten Iraqi armies on our cities and the occupation of a great portion of our border provinces. Even today they look on Iraq's rocket attacks on our cities and the pitiless slaughter of our people with the same encouraging silence. Thus there is no country as interested in peace as ours. In the shade of peace we could show the world's people such an enthusiasm-inspiring picture of our revolution that it would make many of the world's people aware and requisitely determined concerning their path and their future. Perhaps it was for this very reason that the war was imposed on us so that we could not show that enthusiasm-inspiring picture of our revolution to the world's people.

#### Solution to War Problem

Question from Sri Lankan newspaper DINAMINA: How are you going to solve the war problem?

Answer by president: It depends on who is on our side. If Saddam goes, peace will be near. If Saddam remains, we have but two alternatives: One is having the three-fold conditions we announced at the war's beginning met, and the second is continuing the war until we attain our rights.

#### Need for War!

Question by Channel 2 Swedish Television: Iraq began the war, but not it is being said abroad that Iran needs the war to keep its people united.

Answer by president: Three years ago not you and not many others would have accepted that Iraq started the war, or if you had accepted it you would not have been willing to explicitly admit it. Now you admit the fact. It will not be long before all will understand that it is Iraq and the world's support for it that is guaranteeing the war's continuation. We will live better under peace than in any other condition, we will build better and we will export our revolution better. They imposed this war on us, and we do not desire to continue this war even one day more. Of course this does not mean that we accept a dictated peace.

#### Help to Iran

Question from Thai newspaper THAIRATH: It is evident that many countries are helping Iraq militarily. What countries is Iran obtaining this support from?

President's answer: We are not obtaining military help from any country, and we have no need of that which is called military help. We are independent and are fighting through the efforts of our own forces. Of course we can supply the weapons we need either domestically, or from captured materiel, or by repair or by purchasing them from other countries in a way that conforms with our foreign policies.

## Weapons Sales

Question from a Spanish correspondent: What countries sell weapons to Iran?

President's answer: If we want to, we can purchase weapons from every country with which we have commercial ties.

## Number of POWs

Question from Tanzanian correspondent: How many Iraqi prisoners do you have?

President's answer: Tens of thousands.

## Number Killed

Question from Channel 2 Swedish Television: How many have been killed so far in the war?

President's answer: Our martyrs, no matter how many or how few, are dear to us. I do not think that the number can lessen the heaviness of the sorrow we feel over losing our loved ones.

We have had martyrs in the cities as well as on the battlefields. Today there are statistics on our dear martyrs in the cities, women, old men, even elementary school children which reveal the enemy's disregard for fundamental human principles.

## The Economic View

Question from Zaire newspaper: In your opinion, how much of the national wealth has been expended on the war so far?

President's answer: A great sum has been spent.

## War and Petroleum

Question from Tanzanian correspondent: How much has your oil production dropped due to the war?

President's answer: The war has had no effect on our oil exports. We continue our exports at the level we need within the framework of the OPEC agreements.

## Turkish Interests

Question from Turkish correspondent: Your combatants are advancing in northern Iraq. As you know, more than 600 thousand barrels of oil are exported daily from Kirkuk, Iraq through Turkey. If Kirkuk is conquered, Turkish interests will be threatened. Have you talked with or contacted Turkish authorities in this regard? How are you guaranteeing Turkish interests?

President's answer: Turkey is our friend and brother country, and its interests are important to us. These interests must not be threatened, nor will they be threatened.

#### In Kurdistan

Question from Spanish correspondent: What is your situation in Kurdistan?

Answer by president: Our situation today in Kurdistan is better than ever before. The Kurdish people feel that the government of the Islamic Republic of Iran is supporting them against the mini-groups which had pressured them, and they are happy.

The recent operations have closed most of the lines of communication across Iraq's border used by the counterrevolutionaries established in Kurdistan. Their situation is worse than ever before. We think that in the future we will not have an important problem called Kurdistan.

#### Elections

Question from Pakistani newspaper JANG: How many religious and political groups other than the Islamic Republican Party will be permitted to participate in the coming Majlis elections? If there are none, why not? If so, are we permitted to think that in your opinion Islam permits only one party?

President's answer: All parties are free to participate in elections in the Islamic republic.

#### Announcement of Candidates

Question from Channel 2 Swedish Television: On what date will the Islamic Republic Party announce its candidates?

President's answer: At the same time the government announces that the identification of candidates can begin.

#### Use of Exports

Question from Pakistani newspaper JESARAT: What differences of belief between the people and the government exist, and what effects from these differences of belief is the government confronting? Has there been any movement on your part to employ educated persons who are opposed to the revolution purely because of their expertise?

Answer by president: That which is called a difference of belief between the people and officials does not exist. Today hundreds of thousands of experts who are believers, revolutionary, and committed to the revolution are being employed in various governmental organs. We have no need of an expert who is the enemy of the people's revolution.

## Greatest Accomplishments

Question by Channel 2 Swedish Television: What do you think has been the revolution's greatest accomplishment?

Answer by president: One of the greatest, perhaps the greatest achievement of our revolution has been our movement towards true independence and our giving the nation an identity.

## Economic Accomplishments

Question: How has the war affected your economy and revolution? What have your economic achievements been?

Answer: Undoubtedly the war has imposed great economic pressures on our nation. If there were no war, there certainly would not have been these pressures. Nevertheless our people have attained self-sufficiency while shadowed by these pressures through their endeavour, will and enduring determination.

## Inflation

Question from ETTEFAQ newspaper, Rawalpindi: You claim that your economy is improving. Thus why is there all this inflation?

President's answer: Inflation is a world-wide phenomenon and does not involve our country alone. We who claim that our economy is improving do not claim that our economy is in an ideal state. We claim instead that we are moving towards an ideal economy.

## Petrochemical Complex

Question from Japan: Is Iran still insisting on the completion of the Bandar Imam Khomeyni Petrochemical Complex under current circumstances despite the threat of the Iraqi regime to attack it with rockets?

President's Answer: We will finish both this and other projects. The war will have no effects at all on the process of completing these projects.

## Turkish Interests!

Question by Turkish correspondent: What policies have been adopted to forestall the actions of Armenian terrorists against Turkish interests?

President's answer: In our country no group has the right to carry out actions in opposition to the foreign policy lines we have laid down.

## Helicopter Crash

Question by WALL STREET JOURNAL: There are reports that Iran has shot down Soviet helicopters near the border with Afghanistan. Is there truth to this matter?

President's answer: A great deal of the news which the world's mass media report about our country has no truth. It is our determination to have sound relations with all of our neighbors if those neighbors accept those relations.

#### Afghan Combatants

Question from WALL STREET JOURNAL: What is the basis of your relations with the Afghan combatants?

President's answer: The basis is shared beliefs and sentiments, the feelings of a friendly nation towards one which is struggling to make its own future.

#### Ties With African Governments

Question from Zaire newspaper ELIMA: Sir, what is your view of the level of ties between your country and African governments and the cooperative economic policy among these countries? What possibilities are there for future commercial exchanges?

President's answer: The first action which we took at the beginning of the revolution's victory was to sever our relations with South Africa that were leftover from the former regime, and to stop oil shipments to that country. We believe that our resources do not belong to ourselves alone, and we are ready to put them at the disposal of our African brothers to the extent possible.

#### Third World

Question from Bangladesh reporter: Most of the third world countries are dependent on the superpower for help and assistance. How can you help your Muslim brothers in the third world liberate themselves from the domination of the superpowers?

President's answer: I think our past and our experience can be a collection of lessons for all the world's nations.

#### Union of South-East Asian Countries

Question from Thai newspaper THAIRATH: What is your policy towards the union of South-East Asian countries?

President's answer: In our view we respect and hold dear all unions that serve nations and benefit countries.

9597

CSO: 4640/41

# IRAN'S ROLE IN WORLD TERRORISM DEPICTED

Melbourne THE AGE in English 5 Jan 84 p 11

[Article by Colin Legum]

[Text]

A NEW wave of international political terror, possibly worse even than at the height of the campaign by Palestinian extremists, seems inescapable.

Its prelude was the bombs planted outside the American and French embassies and other targets in Kuwait, and the earlier suicide squad attacks made against American marines and Israelis in Lebanon.

These actions are the work of a newly-born, deeply dedicated and fanatical revolutionary Islam movement which was launched by Ayatollah Khomeiny's principal lieutenant, Ayatollah Hussein Ali Montazery, in January 1982.

Its three principal objectives are to unite "true Islam" against imperialism, which includes the Soviet Union; to raise the flag of "authentic Islam" against its usurpers, principally seen as the present rulers of Saudi Arabia and their agents; and to promote the aims of the Iranian revolution throughout the Moslem world.

Although the revolution in Iran originally had a primarily Shi'ite character, Ayatollah Montazery's aim is to eradicate the idea of sectarianism.

At the January 1982 conference of foreign Moslems in Teheran, he declared that the Iranian-inspired Islamic revolutionary movement was committed to Shi'ite-Sunni unity.

About the same time, Ayatollah Khomeiny insisted that "it is slanderous to describe the revolution in Iran as a sectarian revolution. Our revolution is the revolution of all Moslems, including Sunnis and Shi'ites".

With the launching of this new movement, the Moslem world now has three principal centres in rivalry for the role of authentic Islamic thought: Teheran, Riyadh and Tripoli.

Each maintains its own international organisation through which the struggle for supremacy is being waged. The weakest, by far, is Colonel Gaddafi's Islamic Call Society, whose revolutionary appeal has been superseded by Iran's and diminished by the Libyan leader's unpredictable behavior.

Moreover, because Colonel Gaddafi remains committed to Iran in its war against Iraq, he has not been in a position overtly to oppose Ayatollah Montazery's initiative, although Libya plays no part in it.

By far the strongest of the three movements is the Islamic Conference Organisation (ICO) led by the Saudis. Although Iran remains a member of the ICO, it uses it as a forum principally to point up its own differences with Saudi policies. These differences are fanatically sharp.

In launching the World Congress of Friday Imams and Prayer Leaders, Ayatollah Montazery put forth

as one of its demands the appointment of a council of representatives of Islamic nations to administer the two holy sanctuaries, Mecca and Medina.

British colonialists, he declared, had placed "an illiterate, hireling Bedouin in power in Arabia", as a result of which his "discredited family, who are unfamiliar with Islam, now control the holy cities. "I beg the Almighty," he said, "for the deliverance and liberation of the sacred places and Islamic lands from the claws of Satan" (ie, the Saudi kingdom).

Ayatollah Montazery's message to delegates attending a series of conferences in Iran over the past two years is that religion and politics are indivisible. Mosques, he insists, should not only be places of prayer but, as in the Prophet Mohammed's time, should be centres of political, cultural and military activities.

This message is to be spread by a permanent organisation of the World Congress of Friday Imams and Prayer Leaders which has been established with a full-time secretariat in Teheran, and with branches in other Moslem countries.

It has been made responsible for convening an annual conference of Islamic leaders to be held in Teheran. In February 1983, Ayatollah Montazery played host to 400 delegates invited (at Iranian expense) to attend the First Conference on Islamic Thought.

A special school has recently been established at Qom, where sponsored students pursue both religious studies and methods of armed insurrection, giving effect to Ayatollah Montazery's teaching about the role of the mosque as in the time of the Prophet.

The school is believed to be under the supervision of Ayatollah Khoiniha: but all the students are received personally by Ayatollah Montazery at three or four-monthly periods. The first intake of sponsored students are reported to have come from Saudi Arabia, Afghanistan, Egypt, Nigeria and Morocco.

One of the first steps taken in fulfilment of Ayatollah Montazery's aims was the despatch of

trained Iranian cadres to the Bek'a Valley in Lebanon to support the PLO in late 1982 after the Israeli invasion. By the end of that year there were an estimated 1500 Iranians based on Baalbeck.

This Iranian presence encouraged an incipient split within the Lebanese Shi'ite community. One of their commanders, Hussein al Mussawi, denounced the Amal faction for collaborating with Israel and the United States, and took 5000 of his supporters to join the Iranian cadres at Baalbeck which they converted into a Shi'ite revolutionary centre, plastering it with portraits of Ayatollah Khomeiny and Iranian flags.

It was this group which claimed responsibility for the suicide attacks on the American and Israeli defence positions in Lebanon.

This alliance with the dissident Shi'ite leader, Mussawi, has enabled Iran to become a factor in Lebanon, where it supports Syria, its close ally in the war against Iraq.

A second major area of Iranian involvement has been the Arab Gulf, especially in those States with significant Shi'ite communities, such as Kuwait, where the latest attacks were carried out.

These States, which are linked with Saudi Arabia in the Gulf Co-operation Council, have found it necessary to establish a joint intelligence organisation to detect Iranian-directed revolutionary activities.

In the past year or so, Iran has greatly increased its support for the Afghan resistance to the Soviet Union's occupation. It has concentrated its aid on two Shi'ite groups of armed resisters, both of which have been given arms and funds as well as permission to raise funds for their struggle in Iran and to open offices there.

However, Iran especially favors the Sazmane Nasr — the Organisation for Victory — which is mainly active in the central region of Hazarajat and, thanks to Iranian arms supplies, has been able to establish a foothold in the Salang Valley, where they are better able to ambush Soviet convoys.

Pakistan has recently agreed to allow the Iranians to establish a

liaison committee in Peshawar to work with the Afghan resistance movement.

Following a Shi'ite-Sunni clash in Karachi over a purely local land dispute, a number of Iranian diplomats were expelled from Pakistan; but President Zia's Government has been careful to maintain formally good relations with Iran despite its very close relations with Saudi Arabia. More than 12,000 Pakistani soldiers have been contracted to the Saudi Kingdom to help in its internal and external security.

An estimated 20 per cent of Pakistani Moslems are Shi'ites. Iran appears to have been careful to promote its policy of Shi'ite-Sunni unity in its relations with Pakistan — a policy that has won the support of a number of young Pakistani radicals opposed to the Zia regime and who claim to see a model for Islamic revolution in the Iranian experience.

The Iranian reach extends into Malaysia (where its links are with the Pan-Malaysian Islamic Party), Indonesia and Turkey, where 33 people who were accused in March 1983 of planning to establish an Islamic State were alleged to have been in touch with the Iranian Embassy in Ankara.

In Yugoslavia, too, the authorities claimed in August 1983 at a trial of 12 Moslems accused of plotting to set up an Islamic republic in Bosnia-Herzegovina of having had contacts with Iran. Five of the accused had visited Teheran in December 1982.

Even further afield, in the Caribbean island of Trinidad, the Government claimed to have uncovered a plot to establish an Islamic republic by Black Moslems even though only 10 per cent of Trinidadians are Moslems.

The Trinidad Government alleged that support for the Black Moslems had been provided through the Iranian embassy in Caracas, Venezuela.

A Trinidad police spokesman said in September 1983 that they believed that "there was an intention to seize the Government and set up a fundamentalist Moslem regime such as that in Iran".

RELIGIOUS LEADER COMMENTS ON STATUS OF ARMENIANS IN IRAN

Tehran SOBH-E AZADEGAN in Persian 26 Dec 83 p 2

[Text] Archbishop Ardak Manukian, the Armenian religious leader, stressed in a conversation that "even though we have a different language and religion, we live in total goodwill with our Muslim brothers," adding: From the start of the Islamic Republic of Iran, the rights of Christians in Iran have become stronger and the Islamic Revolution has been instrumental in the economic and social growth of Armenians in Iran. He discussed the viewpoints and issues of the Armenians in an interview he gave on the occasion of approaching end of the Christian year 1983.

The religious leader of the Armenians said: Until now they have made the world believe that anyone who is stronger has predominance over others but religions such as Islam and Christianity hold to the eternal truth that the rights of all nations, especially those of small nations such as ourselves, are respected by them. It is our hope that the territorial integrity of Iran will be safeguarded, that the rights of the Muslim people of Iran will be recognized worldwide and that the Iraqi imposed war against Iran will end with the victory of the Iranian nation.

It is the heartfelt desire of the Armenian community that the Almighty bestow long life upon Imam Khomeyni, the leader of the revolution and the founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran. We know that Islam, and by association the Islamic Republic of Iran, look with special favor upon the followers of divine and monotheistic religions.

He added: History has always shown that stronger powers suppress weaker peoples and try to bring under their domain countries which are rich in resources. But people are aware now and each nation demands its rights. Religions play a basic role in the awakening of peoples.

He added: We are free from the religious point of view in exercising our faith and up to now we have not come up against any difficulty. In the community itself there is greater religious awareness, more regard for the individual and from the social point of view we have two representatives

in the Majlis. It is our wish and desire to show the world and announce that all our rights--religious, social, cultural--are respected in this Islamic Republic.

He added: I myself was among the first individuals who as part of a delegation went to meet his excellency the Imam when he returned to Iran. During the meeting the Imam said that the condition of religious minorities will be better than before. I, on my part, communicated this hope to the Armenian community. Whenever his excellency the Imam speaks of religious minorities, the Holy Scriptures and Jesus Christ, his words show special respect.

He added: In the past year, Armenians have had extensive activities in battlefronts of the war imposed by Iraq against Iran and have given 35 martyrs in their fight on the side of the Islamic Republic. In addition special ceremonies were observed during War Week and Remembrance of Martyrs.

He noted: Skilled Armenians are working shoulder-to-shoulder with Muslim brothers in the rebuilding of war-hit areas. Armenian churches, organizations and clubs donated blood, thus theirs intermingling with the blood of Muslim brothers and strengthening ties between them. He pointed out that in meeting with the authorities of the Islamic Republic, the procedure for cooperation between the Armenian community and Muslim brothers were discussed and in addition to aid in kind, cash and check donations were presented to the republic's president. He said that with donations collected in Armenian schools and the community, "we shall soon be buying ambulances."

Armenian Archbishop Ardak Manukian, in conclusion of his interview, spoke about the traditional observance of Christmas, the Christian New Year and the Epiphany of Christ held in churches and Christian religious centers.

5854

CSO: 4640/95

# ARMENIAN SOLDIERS KILLED IN IRAN-IRAQ WAR HONORED

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 8 Jan 84 p 2

[Text] Yesterday thousands of Armenians in Tehran participated in solemn ceremonies held by the Tehran diocese of the Armenian Church at the Armenian cemetery. During the ceremonies, Archbishop Ardak Manukian addressed the gathering.

Today we honor Armenian soldiers who gave their lives in martyrdom in the war imposed by Iraq against Iran. They sacrificed their youth and the spring of their lives in order to insure the territorial integrity of Iran and the security and well-being of the peoples of this land. During these ceremonies we asked the Almighty to bestow courage and endurance upon members of their families and those they left behind so that they may be able to bear their pain and sorrow in their divine faith.

He continued his sermon by saying: Armenians of Iran are taking part in this war not only through faith, conviction and material sacrifices but are strengthening fraternal ties with their Muslim brothers at battlefronts.

The blood of Armenian soldiers is now mixed with the blood of Muslim fighters. For this reason and because of these observances, I consider it my duty to honor all the martyrs who gave their lives to insure the territorial integrity of Iran, safeguarding of its frontiers and the security of the peoples who dwell on this land.

The archbishop said: The presence of Armenians in Iran goes back several hundred centuries and today, based on the constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran, they consider their continued way of life as guaranteed and free in every way in observing religious customs, free in the conduct of their cultural affairs and their special schools in which, according to tennets and instructions of the Armenian Church, the Armenian language and the theological sciences of the Armenian Church must be taught alongside the official school curriculum.

He said in conclusion: It is our heartfelt wish that the Almighty give long life to the leader of the revolution and architect of the Islamic Republic of Iran and that God welcome into His illuminated presence the purified souls of the Armenian martyrs, that peace and security may prevail

throughout the world and that oppressed peoples may in stronger fashion continue their struggle to be free from wars of the major powers.

Statement by the Armenian representative in the Majlis.

After the Archbishop's address, Herayr Khalatian, the representative of Armenians of Tehran in the Majlis spoke of the struggle of Iranian-Armenians in helping to bring the revolution to fruition and described the activities of young Armenians in the war of right against wrong.

Participating in the ceremonies as the representative of members of the Majlis was Sirjan delegate Hojjat ol-Eslam Akhlaqinia who stressed the goals and prophetic messages of the prophets and paid tribute to the martyrs, saying: Today we stand side by side facing the enemies of God and of humanity. At this time when the sons of you dear people are standing firm on battlefronts of the war of right against wrong in opposing world arrogance and give their precious lives in contributing to the despair and hopelessness of the enemy, it is proper that we consider this unity as sacred and invaluable.

The ceremonies came to a conclusion after Air Force Colonel Malus [sic] Hakopian spoke about unity between Muslims and Christians on battlefronts.

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CSO: 4640/97

## IRAN

FM VELAYATI ON LEBANON, PLO, IRAQ-~~U.S.~~ TIES, ISLAMIC CONFERENCE

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 5 Jan 84 pp 2,15

[Text] In an exclusive interview with ETTELA'AT, Dr Velayati, our country's Foreign Minister, answered questions from our correspondent concerning the plan to partition Lebanon, the repeated bombings in the area, internal dissidence in the PLO, the expulsion of Iranian students, the future of the Iran-Iraq war, Iraq's relations with America, relations with African countries, the policies of the adventurers in Washington, Yasser Arafat's latest visit with Hosni Mubarak, the occupation of Afghanistan, and the Islamic conference. Details of the interview are given below.

### The Plan to Partition Lebanon

Question--How do you assess the repeated bombings in the area against the interests of the Americans, the French, and other reactionary regimes? Please explain the Islamic republic's view of these bombings.

Answer--We think America and France are pursuing interests outside their own borders which they think that they can obtain by means of aggression and military dominance of other countries, and this is in reality nothing other than plundering. In the same connection, there have been many efforts in recent months on America's part against the interests of the oppressed and third-world nations.

As for the nations and countries of the third world, they have no desire for direct confrontation with the military invasions of the military bullies of history, but they have no choice other than to launch such a movement. One cannot expect a people who have lost everything, such as the people of Lebanon, to observe international secular law.

Have international officials taken the interests of nations such as Lebanon into account, so that they too should observe international law?

These things are being done by a people who have lost everything, who have given up on their lives, and this is the only way of protesting left to them.

Countries like America, therefore, and its satellites, are trying to attribute these bombings to this country or that country. They have made many efforts and produced a lot of propaganda in this regard, sometimes attributing them to Iran, but no matter how hard they have tried, they have been unable to produce any acceptable documentation or evidence in order to satisfy the world, and the passage of time has shown that this type of accusation against the Islamic Republic of Iran is no more than an accusation.

#### Internal Dissidence in the PLO

Question--How do you assess Iran's position on issues pertaining to the internal dissidence in the PLO, and the effect of these measures on the victory of the Palestinian revolution?

Answer--It is the present policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran to oppose any fragmentation or diversity within the ranks of the Palestinian combatants. We believe that all combative Palestinian forces must stand together against Israel and against any kind of accommodating solution. They must rely on God, cling firmly to their rifles, and answer with force that which has usurped them by force.

#### Expulsion of Iranian Students from France and Kuwait

Question--How do you assess the behavior of French and Kuwaiti officials in expelling, tormenting, and harassing Iranian students living in those countries, and what measures are being taken to alleviate these dark circumstances?

Answer--I must say with regard to this that due to the accomplishments of the Islamic revolution in Iran, a change and an awareness has come about in our people, and an aware and responsible nation has been made of our people. Such a people and their thinking are naturally not welcomed by those who have based what they do on dissolving the thoughts of people. The French government has proven its enmity with the Islamic Republic of Iran by giving asylum to the hypocrites and the exiles on the one hand, and by helping Saddam's regime on the other. We have reacted appropriately to every hostile act of the French government; we have never submitted to the trickery and blackmail of this new gendarme, and we will not do so. They are angry because they have been unable to persuade us to submit to their views. They see that despite the investments they have made to strengthen the Iraqi government and weaken the government of the

Islamic Republic of Iran, the results have been the opposite of those sought; the Iraqi regime gets weaker every day, and the government of the Islamic republic, contrary to what they wanted, gets stronger every day. Therefore, the actions of the French government are nothing other than anger and loss of self-control. This thing that the French agents have done is outside the limits of any kind of recognized secular law. We have taken the necessary political and legal steps in this regard, and we will follow up on them.

#### Iraq's Relations with America

Question--How do you assess the public announcement of the heretofore secret relations and cooperation between the regime governing Iraq and American imperialism, and in view of the fact that it has recently been announced by American government officials that an Iraqi defeat in the war with Iran would be against American interests, what changes do you foresee in the area's political situation?

Answer--Iraq's relationship with America is a deep-rooted one, because the basis of the thought prevailing in the Baghdad government is a doubtful and suspicious one which was established by Michel Aflaq, whose origins are not known. The Ba'thists of Iraq have always talked like hard-liners, but their actions have been in the interest of Israel and America. From the arrival in power of the Ba'th party in Iraq to this day we have never seen them fire a single bullet at Israel.

The Iraqi regime has always sung a leftist tune, but its actions have been rightist. Therefore, their relations with America have not surprised us at all.

#### Relations with African Countries

Question--Some time ago the Foreign Ministry of the Islamic republic announced that one of the cornerstones of the Islamic republic's foreign policy would be the expansion of political and cultural relations with the African countries. What measures have been taken until now in this area?

Answer--During the last two years the Islamic Republic of Iran has opened almost ten new embassies in African countries, and most of our political trips have been to the African continent. Great efforts have also been made and will continue to be made in administrative and economic areas so that we can expand our relations with these countries. Unprecedented things have been accomplished and continue to be pursued in the cultural area. At the present time a government delegation from the Islamic republic of Iran is in Africa; about two months ago the Foreign Ministry's political deputy was there at the head of the

delegation, and prior to that I went to Africa myself. Political and economic delegations are constantly going and coming from Africa in various capacities.

#### Washington's Adventurous Policies

Question--Please explain why, in your view, Washington has stepped up its adventuresome military policies.

Answer--In this regard I must say that in view of the way America's principal rulers view the world and world issues, the nature of their government necessitates this bullying. In order for them to stop their bullying, their view of the world must be changed. They want the world to be under their domination, to utilize the resources in other countries in any they wish, and to plunder the wealth of nations. For this reason they try to put governments in power in other countries who will protect their interests. If a government is against their interests, or at least tries to protect and guard its own interests, the Americans become its enemies and try to weaken and overthrow that government. Their military attacks on the world, the military bases that they establish, and their aggression against the people of the world is nothing other than an effort to dominate various nations. This policy, of course, is a defeated policy, because the people of the world have awakened, and they will no longer be content to submit to the oppressive burden of the Americans or any other dominion-seeking power, whether from the West or the East. This is itself the very reason for the anger and rudeness of these world imperialists. The occupation of Grenada is this very attempt to attain dominance which they are constantly making. This is outright savagery, for the Americans to come, occupy a country, and overthrow its lawful government, to actually invade a country militarily and take it over. This is true shamelessness. Then they tell the United Nations they were protecting freedom, peace, and this sort of thing. They are doing something similar now in Lebanon.

#### Arafat's Visit with Mubarak

Question--What is your view of Yasser Arafat's recent visit with Hosni Mubarak, and the reception by America and other reactionary countries of this meeting?

Answer--Yasser Arafat's meeting with Hosni Mubarak is against the interest of the aspirations of Palestine and the interest of the Muslim world. The Egyptian regime is a corpse that will not be revived by actions of this type, and efforts on the part of some PLO officials to compromise and accept despicable political solutions can be nothing other than a blow against the aspirations of the Muslim people of Palestine. Of course, the awareness that has been brought about among the people of

Palestine gives us the glad tidings that these people have not named people as their delegates who will make political deals over their land on their behalf. Therefore, if a compromise and accommodation against the highest interest of the people of Palestine should take place through the agency of some people who consider themselves representatives of the aspirations of Palestine, it will be forthrightly condemned by the Palestinian nation. The people of Palestine do not have to accept such compromises, and those who act against the Palestinian nation are really taking steps to weaken and destroy themselves.

Question--Please explain the Islamic Republic of Iran's position on movements and events in Afghanistan and on the country's future.

Answer--Concerning this I must say that there is no practical solution for Afghanistan other than the speedy and unconditional withdrawal of Soviet forces without their being supplanted by any other foreign force. The fate of the nation of Afghanistan must be placed in its own hands, and Afghanistan must remain a Muslim, non-aligned country. With regard to this we have repeatedly stated our position, and we continue to adhere to it firmly.

#### Conference of Islamic Countries

Question--In view of the fact that the last session of the Conference of Islamic Countries, in which the foreign ministers of those countries met in Bangladesh, adjourned without giving profound consideration to the principal problems of the Muslim world, what is your assessment of the Conference of Islamic Leaders, to be held in Marrakesh?

Answer--One of the problems of Muslims is that they have no international authority to deal with their problems. The Islamic conference, which includes 44 Islamic countries, has taken no basic steps so far towards solving the fundamental problems of the Muslim world. We hereby declare that if the Conference of Islamic Leaders does not address the existing realities of Islam, and undertake to provide fundamental solutions to basic problems, its decisions will be nothing other than words on paper.

We warn the Islamic conference against accepting accommodating solutions concerning Palestine and the return of Egypt to the fold of the Islamic countries with the acceptance of Camp David. Any decision concerning the Iran-Iraq war that does not make a detailed study of Iraq's aggression against the Islamic republic is worthless. They must study the causes and instigations of the aggression, and the damage that the government of Iraq has done to the Muslim people of Iran. They must deal with the aggressor in such a way that no member of the Islamic Conference will ever again have the nerve to invade another Muslim country.

## SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT, ISLAMIC IDENTITY NOT NECESSARILY LINKED

Karachi AMN in Urdu 23 Dec 83 p 2

[Article by Jumman Khan: "Pakistan Will Be No Different From Other Countries If Exemplary Islamic Rule Is Not Established"]

[Excerpts] At a public meeting in Multan, General Zia declared that he will establish an Islamic shura system of government instead of a Western democratic system. He wants to ensure Islamic rule in the country. All we would like to say on this issue is that the government named its federal council--Majlis-e Shura--after its much-heralded establishment. According to the Koran and Muslim scriptures, the rulers cannot veto the decisions of a shura. If the Majlis-e Shura is based on these principles, then why is its recommendation for elections on a party basis being rejected? In our country, we have had a parliamentary democracy, military rule, presidential rule, a two-house parliamentary system and, finally, for the last 6 1/2 years, martial law.

Over the past 36 years, numerous rulers have come and gone and various political systems have been tried. Yet, our country was not called non-Islamic. Was Pakistan denied admission to the Islamic Conference because we are not an Islamic country? No matter what its system of government, Pakistan was recognized by all countries as an Islamic country. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, former president of a democratic Pakistan, was elected chairman of the Islamic conference, which represents all Islamic countries. Ironically, his government was not recognized as Islamic by anyone.

We are aware of the fact that over 40 countries are labeled "Islamic countries." None of these countries, however, has an exemplary Islamic rule that can be emulated by other countries. This indicates that it does not matter whether we establish Western democracy or a shura system, we will still be part of the Islamic brotherhood and maintain our Islamic identity. Secular and socialist Muslim countries are still members of the Islamic brotherhood and are not expelled as anti-Islamic elements. No Muslim country has asked another Muslim country with a secular or socialist government to adopt an Islamic form of government. Nor has any Muslim country demanded that another country replace its military rule with a democratic system or become a caliphate instead of an anti-Islamic kingdom. Every country is free to establish whatever type of government it desires; that is their own business. No one is forced to become friends with the United States or is pressured into embracing communism.

# INCLUSION OF SHARIAT, CIVIL JUDGES IN MILITARY COURTS SUGGESTED

Karachi AMN in Urdu 24 Dec 83 p 2

[Article by Jumman Khan: "Two Suggestions for Improving Military Courts"]

[Excerpts] There are three different types of courts performing under three different legal systems in our country. First, the common courts, which follow the system established by the British; second, the military courts implementing martial law; and third, the shariat courts providing justice according to Islamic principles. We learned today that qazi courts will be coming soon. These courts will administer justice according to the teaching of Islam. We do not understand the need for qazi courts when we already have Islamic courts. Why not simply transfer the powers of the proposed qazi courts to the existing shariat courts? Since both types of courts will implement justice according to Islamic law, why not have only one instead of two?

The common courts have higher courts, including the High Court and the Supreme Court, for appeals. Similarly, a ruling given by a shariat court can be appealed in the Federal Shariat Court. The decision made in a military court, however, cannot be appealed in the Supreme Court or the Federal Shariat Court. Thus, a decision made in a military court is final and is carried out as soon as it is approved by the Martial Law Authority. Another point is that the military courts have the right to sentence people to jail, fines, whipping, forfeiture of property and death, and military court decisions cannot be appealed.

Justice carried out on military lines is understandable if it is used for crimes committed against the armed forces, but the military courts also hear common civil cases and impose death sentences. It seems important here, in order to implement justice according to Islamic principles, to reform the military court system. There are two alternatives available. One, establish a military appeals court that would include a judge from either a high court or the Federal Shariat Court. Two, military courts should include one judge each from the Federal Shariat Court and the Supreme Court when cases involving the death penalty are tried. This would provide fairer justice.

True, some military courts have civil judges sitting on their benches. History tells us that at times lower courts make wrong decisions and these

are overturned by appeals courts or the Supreme Court. Several lower shariat courts' wrong decisions have also been overturned by the Federal Shariat Court. In light of all this and in order to establish high standards for our Islamic system of justice, we should include one judge each from the Supreme Court and the Federal Shariat Court in military courts so that innocent persons are not punished by mistake.

7997

CSO: 4656/60

CORRUPTION BLAMED FOR EXISTENCE OF UNAUTHORIZED STRUCTURES

Karachi AMN in Urdu 24 Dec 83 p 2

[Editorial: "Destruction of Unauthorized Structures"]

[Text] Maj Gen Mohammad Afzal Khan, deputy administrator of Karachi, has ordered the Karachi Development Authority [KDA] to destroy all unauthorized buildings in the city. This order does not seem to be wrong, nor can there be any doubt as to its sincerity.

This problem of unauthorized construction and encroachments is as old as Pakistan and no solution to it has been found. We have to conclude that the failure is the result of the erroneous approach taken by the officials responsible. Buildings are destroyed and rubble is removed, but after a while new buildings rise on the cleared plots. We have lost count of the number of times this process has been repeated in the past 30 or 32 years.

It is no secret that these structures are the source of "extra income" for some employees of KDA and the Karachi Municipal Corporation [KMC] and that they are hooked on this habit. These employees are not only on the take from the builders of these structures but also encourage the practice. This is the main reason for the failure of orders for destroying unauthorized structures. We simply do not understand the rhyme and reason followed by these officials.

We are sure that the deputy martial law administrator will be able to expose the reasons for the failure of these efforts in the past. Once the causes are identified, plans should be formulated to destroy unauthorized structures in a way that is effective and lasting. Otherwise, we will have another unsuccessful try.

We have repeatedly suggested that any attempt to eradicate a problem should require punishment of the persons responsible for reform as well as those accused of committing the crime. For example, everyone agrees that the police can stop crime. If we make the police responsible for all the crimes committed in their jurisdiction, the incidence of crime will be minimized. The employees of KDA and KMC are the real culprits in this sense. There would be no unwanted structures if these employees on the take did not want them. Whenever unauthorized structures appear, the builders as well as

these officials should be punished. If this system were implemented, there would be no encroachments.

Thus, before we order the destruction of such structures, we must assure ourselves that they are being removed permanently. Under the present system, they reappear in no time. This provides just another exercise in futility. We must apply the law more firmly and get rid of these corrupt officials.

7997

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FOREIGN WORKERS: SRI LANKA PINS HOPES ON OMAN

Doha GULF TIMES in English 12, 13 Jan 84 p 5

[Text]

SRI LANKA is pinning much of its foreign employment hopes on Oman this year because of what the island believes is a decline in construction projects in other Gulf states.

In Colombo a government official has predicted that as work on new projects begins early this year there is likely to be an unprecedented jobs boom in Oman, a country which, he said, today employs over 200,000 expatriates ranging from consultants to unskilled labourers.

According to 1983 statistics there are 50,000 Lankans employed in Oman, mostly in middle-grade technical jobs. Most of them have been there for over four years.

The spokesman said that the Oman Government has ear-

marked 219m riyals for maintenance and construction of new roads. Similar sums are expected to be spent on expanding telecommunication networks, fisheries development and port expansion.

The Colombo spokesman claims that Oman has not panicked in the face of the recent oil price slump and added that the situation will in no way affect the large development projects undertaken by the Oman Government.

The country has not depended heavily on oil although Oman gets a large part of its national income from oil. Oman, the spokesman said, has since 1973 invested in long term projects and also encouraged foreign investment to come into the country.

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